HISTORY OF MODERN
ANDHRA PRADESH
(1858 - 2016)

P.R.RAO

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PREFACE

Andhra Pradesh State, which came into existence on November 1, 1956, caught world wide attention as the techno-savvy and the most "happening state" by 2000. Hence, two U.S. presidents, Bill Clinton and George Bush, visited Hyderabad city, the capital of the state. In the year 2014, it was bifurcated for political reasons to form a separate Telengana State.

The residuary part of the state retained its original name, Andhra Pradesh. However, Hyderabad city became a part of Telangana state. The state, which is now emerging as the most dynamic one, provides India the "Eastern Gateway" to East and South-East Asia. Its new capital under construction named Amaravati—the "city immortal", has drawn the attention of architects from all over the globe.

The present book, *History of Modern Andhra Pradesh*, provides ongoing information about the state to the students of History, as well as to the general public. Hectic developments are taking place under the leadership of its Chief Minister, Chandrababu Naidu, "the maker of modern Hyderabad".

I take this opportunity to record my thanks to Sri N. Mukunda Rao and his spouse, the dynamic leader, Mrs. Nannapaneni Rajakumari, former MLC and at present Chairperson of A.P. Women's Commission. It is through her good offices that my wife and I could visit the interim capital at Velagapudi to note its developments. My thanks are also due to Sri Kolla Sai Babu, of Tenali, for accompanying us in visiting most of the 29 villages which form part of modern Amaravati.

I profusely thank Dr. Sarada Movva, my wife, and Sunita, my niece, for rendering secretarial assistance. I also thank, Sudhir, my son, Pallavi, my daughter-in-law and Jay and Neil, my grandsons for evincing keen interest in the book.

I record with pleasure my thanks to Sri S. K. Ghai, CMD of Sterling Publishers, New Delhi, for taking personal interest in bringing out this elegant book and on time.

P. R. Rao
Secunderabad

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INTRODUCTION

Andhra Pradesh State was created on 1 November, 1956 by integrating the Telugu speaking areas of Andhra State and Hyderabad State. It contains 23 districts. On 2 June, 2014, Andhra Pradesh was bifurcated to create Telangana as a second Telugu speaking state. It became the 29th state of the Indian Union. Originally, it contained ten districts of undivided A.P., including Hyderabad. Those ten districts are now divided into 31. The residuary A.P. contains 13 districts and retains its original name. Since it had no capital, it was allowed to function from Hyderabad city for a period of ten years.

The present Andhra Pradesh state has an area of 1,60,205 km. Its population according to the 2011 census is 4,93,86,799. By population it is the tenth largest state of the Indian Union. It borders Bay of Bengal on the east, Odisha and Chattishgarh on the north, Telangana and Karnataka on the west and Tamil Nadu on the south. It has a long coastline of about 960 km, which contains the major port of Visakhapatnam, which is the headquarters of the Eastern Command of the Indian Navy and the country's only submarine base.

The 13 districts of the state are divided into three geographical regions. The first region, Rayalaseema, contains four districts, namely, Anantapur, Kurnool, Kadapa and Chittoor.

The second region is called Coastal Andhra. It contains six districts, namely, Nellore, Prakasam, Guntur, Krishna, West Godavari and East Godavari.

The third region is called Uttara Andhra or North Andhra. It contains the districts of Visakhapatnam, Vizianagaram and Srikakulam.

The Rayalaseema region is a land locked area and not economically well developed. Anantapur is a very poor district. Anantapur is also the second largest arid area of the country. The other three districts of the region are no better economically since they receive very little rainfall. This region is noted for factional fights and political murders.

The second region, Coastal Andhra, is economically more advanced than the rest. It is the rice bowl of South India. The satellite launching pad of ISRO is located at Sriharikota in Nellore district.

The third region, Uttara Andhra or North Andhra, is also not a well developed region economically. However, it has the potential to become economically strong as two rivers, Nagavali and Vamsadhara, flow through it. Vizianagaram district has many educational institutes since the middle of 19th century due to patronage of the local zamindar called *Maharaja.*

Visakhapatnam district is the industrial hub of the new Andhra Pradesh. It contains one of the most modern steel plants of India, besides and oil refinery, ship building yard, etc. Visakhapatnam town is called the "City of Destiny" and is one of the fastest growing cities of Asia.

A.P. has a number of sea ports like Kalingapatnam, Visakhapatnam, Machilipatnam and Krishnapatnam. Besides sea ports, A.P. has a number of airports like Visakhapatnam, Rajahamundry, Gannavaram, Tirupati, Putaparthy and Kadapa. A new greenfield airport is under construction at Bhogapuram, near Visakhapatnam.

A.P. is number one among the states of India in attracting domestic tourists. The famous temple at Tirupati, the abode of lord Venkateswara, also known as Balaji, is visited by more than 35,000 pilgrims a day. It is located on the top of seven hills near Tirupati town. The temple area of Lord Balaji is called Tirumala. Another temple of Sri Padmavati, the consort of Lord Balaji, is in Alamelumangapuram, near Tirupati. The affairs of both the temples are managed by a statuary body called Tirumala Tirupati Devastanam (TTD), appointed by the Government of A.P. The Tirupati temple is the richest Hindu temple in the world. Its annual income is second only to that of the Vatican.

Other important temples which attract a large number of pilgrims are Mantralayam, Srisailam and Simachalam. Mantralayam is located on the right bank of Tungabhadra river in Kurnool district. It contains the samadhi of Sri Raghavendra Swamy. A large number of devotees from Karnataka visit Mantralayam every day. Srisailam is also located in Kurnool district. It is the abode of Lord Shiva, known as Mallikarjuna, and his consort is called Bramaramba. It attracts many pilgrims. The Simhachalam temple, located near Visakhapatnam town, is visited by a large number of devotees from Odisha to worship Lord Narasimha.

The biggest railway junction of south India, namely, Vijayawada, is located in A.P. Through this junction about 140 passenger trains pass through, connecting various parts of India. The new capital of A.P., Amaravati, which is under construction, is 22 miles from Vijayawada.

Under the A.P. Reorganization Act, Hyderabad is called the joint capital of A.P., besides being the capital of Telangana.

Chandrababu Naidu, who became the Chief Minister of A.P. on 8 July, 2014, decided to construct a new capital for A.P. and named it "Amaravati", after the immortal city on the banks of river Krishna in Guntur district. The

construction is on full swing. On 12 October, 2016, the interim capital was functioning from a place called Velagapudi. The secretariat and all offices of A.P. government have been shifted from Hyderabad and functioning from Velagapudi.

It is interesting to note that the name of the state and capital begins with first alphabet of English language, that is, *A*, while in Telugu language the name of the capital begins with the first alphabet అ and that of the state with the second alphabet ఆ.

1
COMING OF THE EUROPEANS

From time immemorial till the beginning of the 19th century, India was noted for its excellent textiles and other industrial products. It carried an extensive trade, both maritime and overland, with Europe. The products and manufactures of India, including Andhra, were in great demand in foreign markets. During the first three centuries of the Christian era, India had very brisk trade with the Roman empire. The Andhra Satavahanas had trade contacts with Rome and the ladies of that city took pride in dressing themselves with Indian silks and other textiles. In A.D. 73, Pliny spoke very highly of the superior excellence of the Indian muslin cloth.

However, in the 7th century, the old trade routes through Egypt and Syria were closed when these countries fell into the hands of the Arabs. From then onwards, the bulk of the trade fell into the hands of the Arab traders who carried the Indian products to the markets of Levant. With the capture of Constantinople in 1453 by the Turks, the overland trade route to India was closed. From then onwards the commerce of the east became the monopoly of the Italian cities of Venice and Genoa. The other European nations became jealous of the prosperity of Venice and Genoa and tried to discover a non-Mediterranean sea-route to India.

The Portuguese took the lead in discovering the sea-route to India. Prince Henry of Portugal, also called "the Navigator", inspired and encouraged Portuguese sailors to undertake voyages for the discovery of the sea-route to India. The efforts of Prince Henry bore fruit in 1498, when a Portuguese navigator Vasco da Gama arrived at Calicut on the west coast of India. They sought for a sea-route to India was thus discovered.

The Portuguese were well received by Zamorin, the Raja of Calicut. Very soon they established settlements at Calicut, Cochin and Cannanore. The Portuguese had two aims: (1) to divert the Asian trade to Europe from land routes controlled by the Muslims to the newly discovered sea-route which was controlled by the Portuguese, (2) to advance eastwards from India to South-East Asia and China.

During the years 1500–1509, the Portuguese succeeded in gaining control over the Indian Ocean. They established a base at Cochin in 1503.

The next year Francisco de Almeida came to Cochin as Viceroy of Portuguese possessions in India. He felt that the resources of Portugal should not be wasted in establishing a territorial empire in India and wanted that the Portuguese should maintain supremacy on sea and confine their activities to purely commercial transactions. His policy is known as the "blue water" policy.

The "blue water" policy was reversed by Alfonso de Albuquerque, the successor of de Almeida. He conquered Goa in 1510 and Malacca (Malaysia) in 1511. Krishnadeva Raya, the ruler of Vijayanagar, maintained friendly relations with the Portuguese and allowed them to retain Goa. From Malacca, the Portuguese advanced further east and brought under their control Moluccas and other islands in South-East Asia.

The Portuguese trade monopoly in the east was challenged by the Dutch towards the end of the 16th century. The Dutch used to distribute spices and other products from the east in Northern Europe by making purchases at Lisbon and other ports in the Iberian Peninsula. In 1594 Philip II, the ruler of Spain and Portugal, issued an edict preventing the entry of Dutch ships to Lisbon and other ports of his empire. This action of Philip II denied to the Dutch their access to spices, so they decided to seek the eastern products for themselves. By that time the Dutch were in a position to venture into the eastern trade.

A Dutch traveller Van Linschoten spent nine years in South-East Asia and returned home in 1592. He published two books *Reysgeschrift* and *Itinerario* in 1595 and 1596 respectively. The first book was a manual of sailing directions for the eastern seas. The second gave an account of the author's travels and observations in the east.

The effect of these publications was tremendous. For the first time the Europeans were able to get correct information regarding the east. The merchants of Holland acted immediately. In 1595, a syndicate called Compagnie Van Verre was formed. A trade expedition to South-East Asia under the command of Cornelis de Houtman was sent. The expedition reached Bantam, a port on the North-West coast of Java in June 1596. The expedition was a success and during the years 1595–1601 as many as 15 trade expeditions were sent by independent and often competing syndicates.

In 1600, when the English Company was formed, the States General of the Netherlands felt that in order to maintain the Dutch supremacy of trade in the east, the different companies should amalgamate. Accordingly, in 1602, the private trading companies were amalgamated and a new company known as the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (V.O.C. or United East India Company of the Netherlands) was formed under the patronage of the State.

The Dutch wanted to monopolise the spice trade and so they concentrated their attention on the East Indies rather than India. Wybrand Van Warwijck

commanded the first fleet of 15 ships sent out by the V.O.C. The V.O.C. established factories at Java, Celebes and other places in the East Indies. In India it established factories at Surat, Machilipatnam and Petaploli (Krishna District). The other Dutch settlements were at Nagapattinam, Narasapuram, Bheemunipatnam, Chinsurah (Bengal), etc.

Coming of the English

England, like other European countries, imported products from the East like spices which were carried to English ports in Italian ships. England was also interested in finding an Asian market for its woollen cloth. But before the 17th century, England could not participate in the trade with the East due to a variety of reasons. Firstly, its shipping was not developed to undertake long journeys across the oceans. Secondly, its geographical position on the Atlantic sea kept it away from the focus of the European trade in the Mediterranean. By the end of the 16th century these hurdles were removed. England's shipping had developed and it was able to exploit its geographical position in relation to trans-Atlantic routes as the Indian and Atlantic oceans were opened up.

England's hostility with Spain forced it to seek colonial and commercial expansion by following anti-Spanish foreign policy overseas. In November 1579, the English sailor Francis Drake visited Ternate in the Moluccas. His voyage was very important as it demonstrated that light, fast ships which England had, could cross the oceans. The merchants of London were keen to participate in the trade of the East. But Queen Elizabeth I did not encourage them as she felt that the sea route via the Cape of Good Hope was too dangerous.

In 1583 Ralph Fitch, an Englishman, arrived at the Persian Gulf. He was arrested by the Portuguese and brought to Goa. He escaped from detention and reached Malacca before returning home. His reports on the wealth of India stimulated the desire of the British merchants to participate in the lucrative trade of the East. The English victory over the Spanish Armada in 1588 gave further stimulus to the British merchants. Finally, the publication of the books by the Dutch traveller Van Linschoten removed the lurking fear about the sea routes to the East. So a group of London merchants applied to Queen Elizabeth I to grant them a charter permitting trade with the east. The Queen acceded to their request and on the last day of 1600 a company, under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies," was formed. The Company was granted the monopoly of trade between the Cape of Good Hope and the Magellan Straits for a period of 15 years. The affairs of the Company were managed by a Governor and a Committee of "twenty-four" named in the Charter, but afterwards they were to be elected annually by the subscribers. The Committee later developed into

the Court of Directors. The work of the Court of Directors was supervised by "General Court" comprising shareholders. The General Court later on came to be known as the Court of Proprietors.

For the first voyage, which was commanded by James Lancaster, the Company raised a capital of £ 68,000. The fleet arrived at the port of Achin (in Indonesia) in June 1602. The Company established a factory at Bantan, which was made the headquarters of the English trade in the East Indies. The Dutch, who had already established themselves in the eastern trade, did not oppose the English.

The second voyage of the Company was commanded by Henry Middleton. The English Company wanted to open direct relations with the spice producing areas like Amboina and the Banda islands. The attitude of the Dutch towards the English changed as they realised that the market for spices in Europe was limited. They therefore did not like the British intrusion and wanted to establish a Dutch monopoly of spice trade at any cost.

Third Voyage

The third voyage is memorable since, for the first time, the English landed at Surat in 1608. Capt. Hawkins, the English commander, went to the Mughal court and was given an audience by Emperor Jahangir. The English were permitted to settle at Surat. The permission was, however, revoked due to the pressures from the Portuguese. Thus the English Company had to face the Dutch opposition in the East Indies and Portuguese opposition in India.

The Company realised that there was no market for British woollens in South-East Asia, but there was a great demand in that area for the Indian textiles. The Company therefore decided to force its way into the textile trade of India, in spite of the fierce Portuguese opposition.

Voyage of the *Globe*

The English Company despatched a ship called *Globe* under the command of Hippon to engage in trade in the Bay of Bengal and the Gulf of Siam. The *Globe* arrived at Machilipatnam in January 1611. The English opened negotiations with the ruler of Golconda for trading facilities on the coast of Andhra. The English Company was permitted to establish a factory at Machilipatnam in 1611. Thus the voyage of the *Globe* opened a new chapter in the history of the English Company. It led not only to the establishment of an English factory at Machilipatnam, but also opened up commercial relations with Siam and Burma.

In spite of the early difficulties, the Company continued to engage itself in the trade of the East. In 1612, its prospects brightened up when a Portuguese fleet was defeated off Swally near Surat. As a result of this victory the British prestige shot up at the Mughal court. Jahangir granted a *firman*

in 1613 allowing the English Company to establish a permanent factory at Surat. In 1615, the Portuguese were again defeated by the English. The Company decided to take advantage of its victory and consolidate its position in India. It therefore urged the English government to send a duly accredited ambassador to the Mughal court. Accordingly, in 1615 Sir Thomas Roe was sent to the court of Jahangir as an ambassador from King James I of England. He was instructed to secure permanent trading facilities for the Company.

Sir Thomas Roe failed to secure a commercial treaty from the Emperor due to the intrigues of the Portuguese. But he succeeded in getting many privileges to the Company which was allowed it to set up factories in different areas of the Mughal Empire. In the annals of the Company, Roe is memorable for the policy he outlined for the English in India. He recommended the policy of peaceful trade and opposed the policy of militarism pursued by the Portuguese and the Dutch in the East. Roe felt that "A war and traffic are incompatible" and advised his countrymen to "seek profit at sea and in quiet trade."

The English Company was able to overcome the opposition of the Portuguese. In 1620, the Portuguese fleet was defeated off Jask on the coast of Persia and two years later the English Company helped the Shah of Persia to capture Ormuz from the Portuguese. These defeats weakened the Portuguese position in India and the English Company factories at Surat and other places grew in importance. The Portuguese government at Goa concluded peace with the President of the English Company at Surat.

Anglo-Dutch Rivalry

In the Spice Islands, the Dutch proved to be too strong for the English. From 1610 onwards, the V.O.C. changed its attitude towards the English Company and to receive orders from its government to enforce monopoly. When David Middleton, who commanded the fifth voyage of the English Company, arrived at Banda Neira, the Dutch ordered him to retreat. He therefore withdrew to the island Wei, which was not under the Dutch control.

The English Company invoked the support of their government. Due to the efforts of the British Ambassador at The Hague, two conferences were held at London and The Hague in 1613 and 1615 respectively. But nothing came out of them. The Dutch claimed monopoly of the spice trade as they bore all the risk and expenditure in expelling the Portuguese from the East Indies. The English refused to pay any share of the expenditure the Dutch had already incurred.

The Company decided to carry on the trade in the East Indies despite the opposition from the V.O.C. as the trade in spices was very lucrative. It decided to adopt a forward policy towards the V.O.C. To enforce the policy, it

sent Thomas Dale, who made a name for himself as an efficient administrator in the colony of Virginia. He arrived at the Spice Islands with a fleet of six ships. He was given authority over all the Company's factories, except Surat. At the same time, the Dutch appointed a new Governor General, Jan Pieterzsoon Coen, who proved to be more than a match for Dale.

In early 1619, Dale was able to expel the Dutch from their factory at Djakarta. But within a short time, Coen was able to reimpose the Dutch authority at that place. Thereupon Dale removed all the English goods from Bantam to the Coromandal coast of India. He decided to launch a naval attack on the Dutch fleet from Machilipatnam. But his fleet of six ships were destroyed by the Dutch. Dale died at Machilipatnam in August 1619. The forward policy of the Company thus ended in disaster.

The position of the Company in the East Indies was saved due to the developments in Europe. The two companies were prevailed upon by their respective governments to renew negotiations, which resulted in a treaty of defence in July 1619. This treaty allowed the English Company to have a third share of the spice trade of the Moluccas. Coen reacted sharply to the treaty as he felt that the English had no claim even to a particle of sand on the beach in the Moluccas.

The treaty proved to be unworkable and in 1621, the Dutch expelled the English from the island Run, near Amboina. The English Company decided, early in 1623, to wind up its business in the Moluccas, the Bandas and Amboina. Orders to this effect were sent, but before they reached the East Indies the "massacre of Amboina" took place. In February 1623, ten Englishmen, nine Japanese and one Portuguese were tried and put to death by the Dutch on the charge of conspiring to capture the Dutch fort of Amboina. After this incident, the English Company gave up its contest with the V.O.C. in the East Indies and decided to concentrate on India. The Company realised the important role played by the Indian textiles in the exchange economy of South-East Asia. It decided to purchase the textiles of India and barter them for pepper and spices in the markets of South-East Asia. The calicoes, chintzes and palampores of Andhra were much in demand in the markets in South-East Asia.

Acquisition of Madras

As early as 1612, the English established their factory at Surat. On the east coast of India, they established their factory at Machilipatnam, the great port of the kingdom of Golconda. In addition to being a fine port, Machilipatnam was also an important market for diamonds and rubies for which Golconda was famous. Besides, it was a great centre of textile trade. The famous chintzes and palampores were produced in abundance in the villages around that place. It is no wonder that the English

made it the headquarters of their settlements on the Coromandal coast.

But the position of the English at that place was not enviable. Besides facing the Dutch rivalry and the Portuguese jealousy, they had to bear the brunt of the oppression of the local Muhammedan officials of the Sultan of Golconda. The English made a number of representations to the Sultan at Golconda without avail. For a time the English tolerated the vexations of the local officials, since the textile trade of the place was highly profitable. As the vexations increased, they resolved to abandon their factory at Machilipatnam and establish a new one in the South, outside the territorial limits of the Golconda kingdom.

In 1621 they established a factory at the Dutch settlement of Pulicat, but abandoned it very soon as they could not overcome the jealousy of the Dutch. In 1626 they established a factory at Arumugam or Armagoan, situated 35 miles north of Pulicat in the Nellore district. Armagoan was not a good port. Moreover, its hinterland did not produce quality textiles suitable for the overseas market. Further, the political condition of the Carnatic in which Armagoan was located was very disturbed. The English, once again, were in search of a suitable place on the east coast to establish their factory. Machilipatnam was, however, safe as it was under the firm control of Golconda. The English were tempted to go back to Machilipatnam since the Sultan offered them some privileges. They therefore abandoned Armagoan and returned to Machilipatnam. But on reaching the place they found it was no longer a flourishing centre of textiles. Due to a severe famine in the area, most of the weavers were either dead or had left the place to other centres in search of employment.

The English agent at Machilipatnam was Thomas Clarke. Francis Day was his subordinate at Armagoan. When the directors of the English Company decided in 1638-39 to dismantle their factory at Armagoan, Francis Day visited Pondicherry and its neighbourhood to select a suitable site for the English factory. On learning of the desire of the English to establish a factory south of Armagoan, Damerla Venkatadri, the Governor of the Rajah of Chandragiri, made an offer to Day to establish a settlement at Madrasapatnam in the Chandragiri dominion. Venkatadri's brother Aiyappa resided at Ponamalle (west of Madras) and looked after the coastal region. These two brothers belonged to the Velugoti family of Srikalahasti. The brothers felt that if the English established a factory, they would stand to gain as the region produced textiles in abundance.

Day visited the neighbourhood of Madras in the summer of 1639 to examine the site and also the textiles of the region. He was offered quality cloth at a cheap rate. He negotiated with the Damerla brothers and on 22 July, 1639, obtained from them the grant of the Chandragiri ruler *permitting* the English to build a fort at Madrasapatnam. Under the terms of the grant, the English were allowed to mint coins and receive half the customs and revenues

of the port. Besides these privileges, the Chandragiri rulers guaranteed to reimburse the English all the monies paid by them to the weavers of the locality in case they failed to honour their contracts for the supply of textiles.

The Council at Surat which controlled the English factories on the east coast of India issued an order on 8 January, 1640 allowing Day to take possession of Madras. Day dismantled the factory at Armagoan and reached Madrasapatnam on 20 February, 1640. On 1 March, the construction of Fort St. George began. A number of weavers settled near the place and named their locality as Chennapa Patnam, after Damerla Chennappa, father of Damerla Venkatadri. Chennapatnam was different from Madrasapatnam. The Madrasapatnam village existed even before the English established their settlement in 1639-40. It was situated north of fort St. George.

Within a short time the two villages expanded rapidly and virtually became one town. The English preferred to call the twin villages as Madrasapatnam, while the Indians called them Chennapatnam. In the course of time the exact location of Chennapatnam and Madrasapatnam came to be confused. As Madrasapatnam grew in importance, it came to be known simply as Madras. On 24 September, 1641 it was made chief of the English factories on the east coast.

When Mir Jumla conquered the neighbourhood of Madras in 1647, he confirmed the privileges of the English there. In 1684 Madras was made a presidency. In 1688 it was provided with a municipal government, with a Mayor and ten aldermen of whom seven were to be Indians.

Establishment of a New Company

At home, the Company faced a critical situation. In 1635 a group of London merchants headed by Sir William Courten secured a licence from Charles I for trade in the East. This ended the monopoly of the original company. After a ruinous competition, the two companies were merged in 1649. In 1697 Cromwell had granted a charter to the Company to raise a permanent joint stock. This had greatly improved the finances of the Company. Charles II, by a series of Charters, invested the Company with the "attributes of a delegated sovereignty". James II granted the Company the right to coin money, to exercise jurisdiction over English subjects and to make war and peace with non-Christian peoples.

Acquisition of Bombay

Charles II got Bombay, from the King of Portugal, as a part of the dowry of his wife, Catherine of Braganza. In 1688 he gave it to the Company for a nominal rent of £10 a year. Within a short time Bombay grew in importance and replaced Surat as the chief settlement of the Company on the west coast.

Change in Company's Policy

During the last decades of the 17th century, the Company changed its policy of peaceful trade laid down by Sir Thomas Roe due to the troubled political situation. Aurangzeb's protracted wars with the Marathas disturbed the internal order. Shivaji twice sacked Surat and threatened to capture the English factory there. In the south, Shivaji captured Jinji and passed very close to Madras. In Bengal and Gujarat, the Company was involved in a number of hostilities with Aurangzeb. But in 1690, peace was concluded and Aurangzeb allowed the Company to continue its trade.

Towards the close of the 17th century, the Company faced serious opposition at home. In 1698 a new company called "The English Company trading to the East Indies" was formed. A ruinous competition took place between the two companies. However in 1708, the disputes between the two companies were settled by the Godolphin's award. The two companies were amalgamated under the title "United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies". The United Company is better known as "The Honourable East India Company." It continued its corporate existence down to the rebellion of 1857.

French Settlement

By the middle of the 17th century, the English Company gained the upper hand in the trade with India and eliminated competition from the Dutch. Just at that time, France also appeared on the scene with its own Company, "La Compagnie Des Indies" and established trading settlements at Machilipatnam (1669), Pondicherry (1673) and Chandranagore (1690). The settlements at Mahe, Karaikal and Yanam were established at a later date.

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF THE ANDHRA IN 18TH CENTURY

In 1687, the kingdom of Golconda was occupied by Aurangzeb. As a result, Telangana and a large part of coastal Andhra became part of the Mughal empire. Aurangzeb could not consolidate his conquests of the Deccan as he was busy fighting the Marathas. As a result, the administration became slack and there was no law and order. With the death of Aurangzeb in 1707, the disintegration of the Mughal Empire had set in. In the confusion that followed, the economy of the country was shattered. However, the weavers and other artisan classes in Andhra were able to survive as their products were readily purchased by the European traders.

Textiles

The textiles of Andhra were a craze among all sections of the population, not only in South-East Asian countries but also in England, France, Persia,

etc. A remarkable feature of the dyed chintzes of Machilipatnam was that colours became more bright and beautiful after washing. In England, calicoes and chintzes were in great demand. To protect their own local textile industry, England followed a policy of protection and in 1700 and 1721, a number of laws were enacted prohibiting the import of Indian textiles, and even the wearing of calicoes. This prohibition did not cause any harm to the Indian industry as it had a ready market elsewhere in Europe and South-East Asia.

During the 18th century, the textile industry in Andhra flourished even though the political condition was very disturbed. The Dutch, the Portuguese and the French merchants used to advance liberal sums of money to the weavers and accepted cloth produced by them without insisting on quality. In comparison, the English paid very little to the weavers and insisted on the quality of the textiles produced by the weavers. The English agents were not very popular and frequently the weavers refused to produce cloth for the East India Company. When the English agents tried to invoke the authority of the Subedar at Hyderabad, they were plainly told that no special privileges would be granted to them.

The Dutch, the French and the Portuguese had no trouble at all since they did not ask for special privileges. These merchants were encouraged to purchase the textile of the coastal Andhra as it meant good revenue to the government. At Machilipatnam about 5,000 weavers worked for the Dutch. They were paid 5,000 Madras pagodas and cheap provisions. At Injaram 2,000 weavers worked for the Dutch and 700 for the English.

Besides the factory at Injaram, the English had factories at Maddepalem, Bandamurilanka, Tuni, Kakinada, Corinka, Gollapalem and Visakhapatnam. In all these places, the English, who wanted the best cloth at a cheap rate, faced stiff competition from other European merchants, especially, the Dutch and the Portuguese. The Dutch merchants were very popular as they paid the rates demanded. All the cloth produced at Berhampur, Bheemunipatnam, Visakhapatnam and Tuni was sold to them. These rebuffs from the merchants and the competition from other European companies made the East India Company want to gain monopoly over the textile trade.

The textile industry in Andhra was widely diffused. But production of fine and super-fine cloth was concentrated in particular towns. Berhampur was noted for its quality silks and Srikakulam for its muslins. Machilipatnam was a world-famous centre for chintzes and palampores.

In the coastal Andhra, there were many zamindars who defied the central authority with impunity. These zamindars were of three types: (1) Velamas of Telangana origin, driven out of the Carnatic by the Muslim armies and who had established themselves on the borders of the Krishna, (2) The Rachawars of Orissa who were forced to leave the plains and return to the hilly area

north of Godavari and (3) Oriyas, who, after the fall of the Gajapati empire in Orissa, established themselves in Srikakulam district.[1]

The military forces of the zamindars were of three kinds: (1) Common peons, who were paid in cash and were expected to be in common attendance, (2) The Mokkasa, who were paid by the grant of land, and (3) The Manovarty peons who were military tenants of a high order, bound to bring their adherents to the field.[2]

All the lands in Northern Circars were divided into two categories: (1) The zamindari and (2) Haveli or Government. The land assessment was 1/5th of the produce. The zamindars were notorious for their oppression of the peasantry. They also collected land customs on all articles of commerce like food, cattle, salt, etc. These taxes, known as *Sunkams*, were collected at short intervals. They hampered the growth of industry and commerce. Besides these, there were other imposts under various names. A loom tax or *moturpha* was also levied.

The Circar region produced rice in abundance. Its forests produced a fine variety of teak which was used in shipbuilding. The shipbuilding industry at Corinka was able to withstand the competition from outside. The fishing industry was also highly developed. The inland commerce and maritime exports of the Circar region was to the tune of 75 lakhs a year.

1. Raman Rao, A.V., *The Economic Development of Andhra Pradesh*, 1766–1957, Bombay (1956), p. 5.
2. Ibid

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ANDHRA UNDER THE COMPANY

Revolts against the British

It took nearly 50 to 60 years for the East India Company to consolidate its position in the territories acquired in Andhra. In the Coastal districts, it had to face the formidable opposition from the local zamindars. In the Rayalaseema area, the poligars offered stiff resistance to the British rule.

In the Ganjam district, the East India Company faced formidable resistance from the zamindars of Ghumsur and Parlakimedi. These areas are now in Orissa State. In Vizag district, the most formidable opposition to the Company's rule came from the Rajah of Vijayanagaram, the biggest zamindar of the area. Ananda Gajapathi Raju allied himself with Col. Forde and expelled the French from Vizag, Rajahmundry and Machilipatnam. Ananda Gajapathi Raju was succeeded by Vijayarama Raju who ruled from 1760–1794. His half-brother, Sitarama Raju, acted as his Diwan. Sitarama Raju was highly unscrupulous and his administration was extremely unpopular. In 1784 he was removed from Diwanship, but he went to Madras and through bribery obtained the favour of the Governor and members of the Council and got himself re-appointed, much against the will of the Rajah. The Directors of the Company, however, intervened in favour of the Rajah and the Diwan was dismissed.

After the dismissal of the Diwan, unfortunately the Rajah could not cope with the work of administration. He failed to pay the *peshcush* amount to the government. When the arrears became huge, the Madras Government passed orders sequestrating his whole estate and granted him a pension. On 2 August, 1793, the fort of Vijayanagaram was occupied, the zamindari was divided into three collectorates and officers were appointed to administer them. The Rajah was asked to leave Vijayanagaram and retire to Masulipatnam on a monthly pension of Rs. 1,200.

The Rajah decided to make a bold stand against the Madras Government and marched to Padmanabham, a sacred place halfway between Vijayanagaram and Bheemunipatnam. Thereupon the Company sent troops

against him and at the battle that took place on 10 July, 1794, the Rajah was defeated and killed.

After the death of Vijayarama Raju, his eight-year-old son, Narayana Babu, took refuge in a hilly place called Makkuva in the Vizag district. Several nobles and hillmen rallied round him. The Company hesitated to organise an expedition into the hills. So it started negotiations and the estate was handed over to Narayana Babu on his agreeing to pay the arrears amounting to Rs. 5 lakhs. In 1802, the permanent settlement was introduced and the *peshcush* from the Vijayanagaram zamindars was fixed at Rs. 6 lakhs per year.

In addition to the revolts of the zamindars, there were a few *Fituris*, or outbreaks of the tribal people. The tribals of Gulugonda in Vizag district revolted against the Company. For three years, from 1845–1848, they harassed the administration. Ultimately, they laid down their arms in 1848 on a promise of general amnesty and grant of allowance to their leader, Chinna Bhupathi. During 1857–58, another *Fituri* broke out, but it was easily put down.

In the other Coastal districts also, there were some revolts by the local zamindars but they were easily put down.

But in the Rayalaseema area, the Company faced serious trouble from the local poligars. In 1800, there were 80 poligars in Rayalaseema and they were not prepared to accept the authority of the British. Thomas Munro, the Principal Collector of the region, issued proclamations to these poligars to lay down their arms and also pay *peshcush* to the Company. Many poligars resisted the demand and it took 18 months for Munro to bring them under the control of the Company.

But order was not established effectively. Even as late as 1846, Poligar Narasimha Reddy of Kurnool district revolted against the Company. He attacked the treasury at Koilkuntla and marched towards Cumbam. He was defeated by Capt. Nolt at Moondlapadu, but he managed to escape into the Nizam's dominions. But six weeks later, he re-entered the Kurnool district. This time he was captured and hanged publicly at Koilkuntla. Munro confiscated the estate of the poligars and introduced Permanent Settlement of Land Revenue in the area. The revolts of the Rajahs, zamindars and poligars clearly showed that there was still resistance to the British rule in the Andhra area.

Company's Administration and its Effects

The Company consolidated its position in Andhra during the first half of the 19th century. It re-organised the administration by dividing the entire region into a number of districts and appointed collectors over them. As the term implied, the main function of the collector, who was the head of

the district administration, was the collection of revenue. The Coastal area was divided into five collectorates of Ganjam, Visakhapatnam, Godavari, Krishna and Nellore. The Rayalaseema area, ceded by the Nizam to the East India Company in 1800, was constituted into a single collectorate with Anantapur as the headquarters. Thomas Munro was appointed as the Principal Collector on 24 October, 1800. Four sub-collectors functioned under him at Harpanahalli, Adoni, Cuddapah and Cumbam. In 1808, the area was divided into two collectorates of Bellary and Cuddapah. Kurnool, Anantapur and Chittoor were constituted as separate districts in 1858, 1882 and 1911 respectively.

The key person of the administration was the collector, but the majority of the collectors and other officials of the district were ignorant of the Telugu language and the actual condition of the masses. They depended mostly on their native subordinates, who were, by and large, corrupt and inefficient. The only exception among the English collectors was Munro. He spoke Telugu fluently and carried on the administration without the help of *dubashees*.

Revenue

The Directors of the East India Company at London wanted to realise maximum revenue from the newly conquered areas. This resulted in high taxation. The Company introduced two main types of revenue system, namely the Zamindari and the Ryotwari. In the Coastal area, there were many zamindars, or landlords. From the zamindars, the Company collected revenue, called *peshcush*. The high rates of *peshcush* ruined many zamindars. In the Rayalaseema area, the Ryotwari system of land tenure was introduced. Under this system, the revenue was collected directly from the ryot, who owned the land. This system also did not work well. Even Munro, who was noted for his compassion and liberal outlook, over-assessed the ryots and later recommended a reduction. Another defect in the system was that the lands were not properly surveyed and boundaries were not marked. There were only a few records of any sort. It was only after the advent of the Crown's administration that the survey and settlement work was completed.

The revenue was collected strictly. There was no scope for evasion. Further, the collection of revenue in cash added to the difficulties of the farmers as the prices of agricultural products began to fall from 1834 onwards.

Irrigation

The Company did not pay any attention to irrigation. Tanks and canals were not maintained in good condition. The only important irrigation works undertaken by the Company were the construction of the anicuts over the

rivers of Godavari and Krishna in 1847 and 1853 respectively. These works, no doubt, brought prosperity to the delta regions of these two rivers.

But in the rest of Andhra, no irrigation work of consequence was undertaken. It is no wonder, therefore, that during the Company's rule Andhra suffered from severe famines. From 1805 to 1807, the entire Andhra region was in the grip of a severe famine which resulted in depopulation of some villages. In 1811, Nellore district suffered from a severe famine. The famine of 1823 affected a large area. In 1833, Guntur suffered from one of the most severe famines. In 1839, crops failed in the entire Andhra area. The Government did very little to alleviate the sufferings of the people. It also did not take any steps to prevent the frequent recurrence of famines. It did not formulate even a famine code.

Handicrafts

Side by side with the deterioration of agriculture, there was decline of handicrafts which provided livelihood to a large number of non-agricultural classes. The textile industry provided occupation to a large number of people, after agriculture. The industry was carried on inside the house. Even women observing *Gosha* could engage in it. In Rayalaseema, the weaver indulged in polygamy merely to increase the income by the labour of his wives. Even old people and children used to take part in the industry as the work was not tiring. Even though all the members of the family earned money, the condition of the weaver was not prosperous as he led a riotous life. A great part of his income was wasted in drinking, gambling and cock- fighting.

The textile industry suffered very much. Previously, the silks of Berhampur, the muslins of Srikakulam, the chintzes of Machilipatnam and the *romals* of Nellore commanded a ready market in Europe. They were the chief articles which the East India Company bought for export in the 17th and the second half of the 18th centuries.

One of the causes for the decline of the Indian textiles was that the products could not compete with the machine-made fabrics of England, which were priced low. The exports from Visakhapatnam, which averaged Rs. 7 lakhs a year, fell to Rs. one lakh a year by the third decade of the 19th century. Exports from Machilipatnam averaged Rs. 30 lakhs a year in the second decade of the 19th century. They fell to a mere Rs. 2,750 in 1843-44. The case of Nellore is the same. Its exports valued at Rs. 1,80,000 in 1817-18 fell to a mere Rs. 360 in 1842-43.

The Indian textiles lost the foreign market as well as the local market. The local market was lost due to the policy adopted by the Company, which gave every encouragement to the British textiles and, at the same time, ruined the local industry by imposing excessive transit duties and *Moturpha*—a

vexatious impost on the looms. The native industry lost its good patrons with the decline of the zamindars. As a result of the decay, a large number of weavers went as coolies to Sri Lanka, Burma and Mauritius.

Silk Fabrics

Berhampur, Peddapuram and Dharmavaram were some of the important silk weaving centres of Andhra. The silks were used as articles of luxury and were in great demand among the rich people. The Portuguese distributed Indian silk goods in Europe. The East India Company also exported certain varieties of silk cloth. The industry began to decline by the middle of the 19th century. It could not face the competition from the Chinese and Japanese silks in the European market. At home it lost the market with the break-up of the aristocracy. One noteworthy feature of the silk industry was that it was mostly an urban industry and supported by the rich and upper middle classes. The silk weavers of Andhra came from Devanga, Padmasali, Satani, Mala (Harijan) and Muslim communities.

Carpet Making

The carpets of Eluru and the coloured rugs and blankets of Kurnool were well-known in the international market. In Eluru, the craft was developed by the immigrants from Persia when Andhra came under the Muslim rule. At the London exhibition of 1851 the carpets of Eluru had become the cynosure of all eyes. No foreign or imported wool was used in their manufacture. The wool of indigenous sheep of Krishna and Godavari districts was used in their production. The two popular designs were *Farishkhani* and *Ashunkhani*. The other important varieties were *Bulbandi*, *Nabashkhany* and *Gopalraokhany*.

In Rayalaseema, apart from Kurnool, the industry was developed at Adoni and Bellary. The products of these places catered to the needs of markets inside the country. They did not compare favourably with the products of Eluru or Machilipatnam. By the middle of the 19th century, the industry had fallen on evil days. This was not due to the decline of the skill of the weaver, but for want of government and popular support.

A similar fate overtook other artistic industries as well as the shipbuilding industry, which was carried on in all the coastal towns from Ganjam to Nellore.

Apart from the decline of the industries and handicrafts which had provided livelihood to a large number of people, the rule of the Company caused much hardship to the people since it was inefficient and corrupt. The inefficiency and corruption was more pronounced in the department of the judiciary. Many of the judges did not have the proper legal background. All the persons who were found to be incompetent for the revenue department

were transferred to the law department and appointed as judges. Many regarded the judicial service of the Company as a "refuge of the destitute".[1]

Education

In the sphere of education, Andhra was much neglected. It was only in 1813 that the Company provided a paltry sum of rupees one lakh for education, but the government did not take any steps to provide higher education. When Munro became the Governor of Madras, he proposed the establishment of 40 collectorate schools and 300 tahsildari schools in the whole of the Presidency. The Court of Directors provided funds for this, but in 1839 it was declared a failure. A Central Collegiate Institution was established in Madras in 1841. The expenditure of the institution was met by public donations and the fees collected from the students. It was the only educational institution started by the Madras government. It had, on an average, 160 students.

The rest of the Presidency was not cared for. The missionaries started a number of schools with the main object of converting the students to Christianity. The government helped the proselytising activities of the missionaries by sanctioning "grants-in-aid" to these schools. Even the law of inheritance was interfered with. The converts to Christianity were favoured. The judges exercised their power and authority in a high-handed manner to the detriment of the Hindus.[2]

The administration of the Company had become so irksome that on 26 February, 1852, the people of Madras formed themselves into an association called the Madras Native Association and submitted a petition to the Government for the redressal of their grievances. In order to rectify the defects of the administration, they suggested that the Governor's Council should be composed of officials in equal number—six or seven each. They also suggested the establishment of a legislative council as distinct from the executive council. Other suggestions made in the petition were the reduction of the salaries of the Governor and other higher officials of the government and the appointment of natives to the services. It also demanded the abolition of the ICS.

The only benefit Andhra derived from the Company's rule was that it was free from disturbance caused by wars.

In a word, the Company's rule resulted in the impoverishment of the people, disruption of the corporate life and deterioration of general conditions.

1. Petition of Madras Native Association dated 26.2.1852 to the Government of Madras, quoted as Document No. 14 in *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)*, Ed. by M. Venkatarangaiah, Vol. I, Hyderabad, 1965, pp. 131–135.
2. Ibid

SIR THOMAS MUNRO 1761–1827

Sir Thomas Munro is one of the three East India Company officials who are held in great veneration throughout Andhra. The other two are Sir Arthur Cotton, the great engineer who was responsible for the construction of anicuts over the Godavari and Krishna rivers and Charles Phillip Brown, who had done yeoman service to Telugu language and literature.

Thomas Munro was born in Glasgow on 27 May, 1761. His father, Alexander Munro, was a merchant. Thomas Munro was educated in Glasgow University. He joined the service of the East India Company as a military cadet and arrived at Madras on 15 January, 1780. He died as Governor of Madras at Pattikonda in Kurnool district on 6 July, 1827.

Thomas Munro's career in India can be divided into four periods. The first period was from 1780 to 1792. During these 12 years he spent his life in the army and took part in the wars of the East India Company with Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan, the rulers of Mysore. The second period was from 1792 to 1807. During this period Munro was employed in the civil administration. From 1792 to 1799 he worked in the Bara Mahal (Salem) which was ceded by Tipu Sultan to East India Company. From 1799 to 1800 he worked in the Kanara district. From 1800 to 1807 he worked as the Principal Collector of the ceded districts which were acquired by the East India Company from the Nizam of Hyderabad. In 1807, Munro left for England. He came to India again in 1814 and stayed for four years. These four years, 1814–1818, constitute the third period of his career. During these four years he acted as the President of the Judicial Commission. The fourth and last period of his career was from 8 June, 1820, to 6 July, 1827, when he worked as the Governor of Madras.

Munro as the Collector of Bara Mahal

By the Treaty of Srirangapatnam, which ended the Third Mysore War in 1792, Tipu Sultan ceded half of his dominions to the East India Company and its allies—the Nizam of Hyderabad and the Marathas. The Company got as its share—the Malabar district on the West Coast and the Bara Mahals (twelve palaces), i.e., the modern district of Salem, Dharmapuri and a part of the Madurai district of Tamil Nadu.

For the civil administration of the Bara Mahals, Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General of India, selected Captain Read as the Superintendent of Revenue. Munro and two other military officers were appointed as his assistants. Munro spent the next seven years of his service (1792–1799) in Bara Mahals.

Ryotwari System of Revenue Collection

The administration of the Bara Mahals under both Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan had been oppressive. The first thing that Read and Munro had to do was to settle the amount and the mode of the collection of the revenue. Here Munro introduced a system of revenue collection which had benefited both the farmers and the Company. This system afterwards became very popular as the Ryotwari system of land revenue. Under this system the land revenue was collected directly from the ryots by the Company officials. The ryot under this system was virtually the proprietor of the land he cultivated. He was at liberty to sublet, sell or mortgage his property. He could not be ejected by the government so long as he paid the fixed assessment.

Munro and the Ceded Districts

In 1800, the Nizam of Hyderabad entered into a subsidiary alliance with the East India Company. By this treaty, the Company agreed to protect the Nizam by maintaining its army at Hyderabad. To meet the cost of these troops, the Nizam ceded to the Company the territories he had acquired from Tipu Sultan of Mysore under the treaties of 1792 and 1799. These territories were the districts of Bellary, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Kurnool. This area is now known as Rayalaseema. Munro was appointed as the Principal Collector of these districts in November, 1800.

When Munro assumed charge of his new duties, the ceded districts were in a state of complete anarchy. There were eighty poligars or petty chiefs in this area. They, with their 30,000 armed followers, looted the villagers and created terror among the people.

Munro first turned his attention to subdue the poligars. The Government of Madras had hesitated to take stern action against the poligars as it overestimated their strength. But Munro was able to convince the Government of the need to take early and effective action against the poligars. With the help of Gen. Campbell, Munro was able to subdue the poligars and disbanded their armed followers.

After restoring law and order, Munro commenced his work of survey and revenue settlement. In 1802, the survey of the ceded districts commenced and was completed by 1807. The entire cultivated area of the region was surveyed, a number was given to each field, the name of the holder was registered and the assessment fixed. Munro was able to complete this work, which was quite new to him, in a record time of five years. This work is "on the whole wonderfully correct and thorough . . . it is even to this day a safe guide in most village disputes."

After completing the survey, he introduced the Ryotwari system of land revenue, which he first tried successfully in the Bara Mahals during the years 1792–99. Before introducing the Ryotwari system, he introduced

the village system. Each village was assessed at a certain valuation and cultivators were held responsible for that sum. But before the cultivation commenced in 1801-2, Munro made necessary advances to the ryots to purchase seeds, implements, bullocks and to repair old wells or dig new ones. This fact is enough to show Munro's concern for the welfare of the ryot.

In 1802, Ceded districts suffered from drought and famine and in the next year there were heavy rains which breached 1,000 tanks and 800 channels in the Cuddapah district alone. Munro without waiting for the orders of the Government, ordered the repairs of the damaged tanks and channels. The repairs were so speedily effected that in the following year there was a bumper crop and the Government was able to collect 100 per cent revenue. In October 1807, Munro resigned his position and left for home.

President of the Judicial Commission

Munro came to India for the second time in June 1814, as the President of the Judicial Commission. He was sent by the Court of Directors to study the administration of Justice and Police in the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras and recommend measures for their improvement. Munro submitted his report in April 1816. Most of his recommendations, like the transfer of supervision of Police from the Judge to the Collector, the appointment of village officials to deal with petty thefts, were accepted.

Governor of Madras (1820–1827)

Munro came to India for the third and last time in 1820 to take up his new position as the Governor of Madras. While on tour of the Kurnool district, he was attacked by cholera and died at Pattikonda on 6 July, 1827. The people of Rayalaseema still cherish the memory of Munro, though almost 190 years have passed since his death. Munro, with his simple manners and concern for the welfare of the people, won the hearts of one and all. No wonder he was regarded as Mandava Rishi and boys are named after him as "Munrolappa".

Sir Arthur Cotton (1803–1899)

During the rule of the Company, famines occurred in Andhra at regular intervals. During the year 1833-34, the famine, popularly known as the Guntur famine, brought untold misery to the people. About 40 per cent of the total population of Guntur died during these two years.

Besides Guntur, Machilipatnam and Rajahmundry were also affected by the drought. The terrible destruction of the population and loss of revenue forced the Company to construct major irrigation works on the rivers Godavari and Krishna. Sir Arthur Cotton was responsible for the construction of the Godavari anicut, which had changed the economic profile of the area

and banished famines from the region permanently. No wonder his name is held in great veneration by the Andhras, even today.

Arthur Cotton was born on 15 May, 1803. He was the tenth son of Henry Calveley Cotton, who was himself the tenth son of Sir Lynth Cotton. From his childhood, Arthur displayed an interest in canals. He joined the Artillery and Engineering service of the East India Company and was attached to the Office of the Chief Engineer of the Madras Presidency. He acquainted himself with the irrigation works of the Presidency, especially of the Cauvery basin. He was sent to Visakhapatnam as Superintending Engineer. He foresaw the future greatness of Vizag and suggested various measures for its economic development. While at Vizag, he evinced an interest in the irrigation works of Godavari river. As early as 1844, he submitted a report to the Board of Revenue, stressing the need to construct an anicut over the Godavari river, near Rajahmundry. The Government of Madras received the report favourably and forwarded it to the Board of Directors for approval. The Board of Directors sanctioned the construction of the anicut over Godavari at Dawaleshwaram, near Rajahmundry, at the end of 1846. Arthur Cotton was put in charge of the project. The construction of the project began in 1847 and was completed in April 1852. The entire project was constructed at an exceedingly low cost of Rs. 1,50,000. The extraordinary cheapness of the construction of the project amazed both the engineers and the Government. Cotton was hailed as the "founder of the Cheapest School of Engineering in the world".

The Godavari anicut brought immense economic prosperity to the region. For nearly the last 165 years, the people of the East and West Godavari districts daily remember the name of their great benefactor. As the century-old anicut has outgrown its utility, the Government of Andhra Pradesh has constructed a new one in its place and appropriately enough named it as Sir Arthur Cotton barrage.

Veenam Veeranna

Among the Indian officials who assisted Arthur Cotton in the construction of Dawaleshwaram anicut, Veenam Veeranna was the foremost. He was exceptionally gifted in managing thousands of unskilled labourers engaged in the construction of the project. Cotton praised the work of Veeranna and stated that none of the Indian officials were equal to him. Veeranna was conferred the title of "Rao Bahadur" and promoted as Assistant Engineer. On one of the walls of the anicut, the name of Veeranna was inscribed.

Krishna Anicut

Sir Arthur Cotton was also associated with the Krishna anicut at Vijayawada. However, it was Capt. Orr who was put in charge of the execution of the work, which began in 1850. The project was completed in October 1855. Like the Dawaleshwaram anicut, the anicut at Vijayawada brought immense prosperity to the region. As a mark of honour to the great rivers, the names of Rajahmundry and Machilipatnam districts were changed to Godavari and Krishna districts respectively. Later, the Godavari district was bifurcated into two as the East and the West.

Andhra in 1857–58

The year 1857 was a critical year in the history of India. The Great Revolt of that year had almost brought an end to the British rule. The revolt was very intensive in North India, especially in parts of U.P., M.P. and Bihar. South India was relatively free, but it is not correct to say that it was quite unaffected by the developments in the north. The happenings in the north had their impact, even though feeble, in many places south of the Vindhyas, like Aurangabad, Hyderabad, Cuddapah, Machilipatnam, etc.

The State of Hyderabad, which had a good percentage of Muslims, was naturally very interested in the fortunes of Muslim rebels of the north. Though the ruler and the Prime Minister of the State remained loyal to the British, some sections of the Muslim population were very articulate in their support to the rebels in the north.

The anti-British feeling in Hyderabad State was not a new development. It existed from 1800 when the Nizam was forced to enter into a Subsidiary Alliance with the East India Company. It manifested itself in 1839 when the Wahabis conspired to overthrow the British rule. In that year, many Wahabi conspirators came from the North to the city of Hyderabad and began to preach *jehad* against the British. They were encouraged and supported by Mubaraz-ud-Doulah, the brother of the Nizam, Nasir-ud-Doulah. Before any mischief could be done, the Company acted with vigour. It arrested Mubaraz and confined him in the Golconda fort till his death in 1854. The Nawab of Kurnool, Ghulam Rasool Khan, who was suspected to be in league with the Wahabis, was arrested and sent to Tiruchirapalli as prisoner. His jagir was annexed and administered as a "nonregulation province". It was placed in charge of a commissioner and military assistant. The area was absorbed in the Kurnool district in 1858.

The anti-British feeling increased again in May 1853, when the Nizam was forced to assign to the East India Company the districts of Berar, Raichur and Osmanabad towards the expenditure the Company incurred on the subsidiary contingent it kept at Hyderabad. The anti-British feeling was

expressed openly after the outbreak of the rebellion at Meerut on 10 May, 1857. Within a week of the outbreak, the Nizam, Nari-ud-Doulah, died on 16 May, 1857. He was succeeded by his son, Afzal-ud-Doulah. The new Nizam allowed Salarjang I, who became the Prime Minister in May 1853, to continue in his post.

The early successes of the rebels in the north generated great excitement among the Muslims of the Hyderabad State. At mosques, inflammatory speeches were made exhorting the people to start *jehad* or holy war against the British. Attempts were made to undermine the loyalty of the army personnel of the Company posted at Secunderabad and Bolarum. A fakir moved about the city instigating the population to revolt against the Company and informed them that the army units posted at Secunderabad and Bolarum would join them. Moulvis like Alauddin delivered sermons at Mecca Masjid at Hyderabad city, branding the British as the enemies of Islam and exhorted the Muslims to drive them out.

Outbreak at Aurangabad, June 1857

While great tension prevailed at Hyderabad city, other developments took place at Aurangabad. There great disaffection prevailed among the Company's troops. The news of the British reverses in the north excited them. They feared that they would be asked to proceed to Delhi and fight against the rebels. They disliked that contingency. The disaffection in the Aurangabad troops took a serious turn on 23 June when 90 sepoys, whose loyalty was suspected, were disarmed and arrested. The arrest of their comrades increased the anti-British feelings of the sepoys. A daffedar, Mir Fida Ali, tried to shoot Captain Abbot. Fida Ali was hanged and a number of sepoys suspected to be involved in the affair were arrested. Many men in the cavalry were disbanded. This led to an outbreak in the Aurangabad contingent, which was, however, put down easily. This outbreak which took place within a few weeks of the developments in the north was the first serious incident in the Hyderabad State in 1857.

Attack on the Residency, July 1857

Within a few days of the Aurangabad incidents, other developments took place in the Hyderabad city. On 17 July, 1857, Tura Baz Khan, a Jamedar of Rohillas, led a crowd of about 5,000 and attacked the British Residency at Hyderabad. Nothing came out of this attack as the Residency was ably defended by the disciplined Company soldiers under the command of the Resident, Colonel Davidson.

The Nizam, who remained loyal to the British, ordered the arrest of all the conspirators, including Tura Baz Khan and Moulvi Allauddin. Tura Baz Khan was tried and sentenced to transportation for life. He, however, escaped from prison. While he was being re-arrested, he tried to escape and was shot dead. His dead body was publicly hanged in Hyderabad city. Moulvi Allauddin was arrested in the village of Mangalapalii near Hyderabad. He was given life imprisonment. He died in prison at Andamans in 1884.

Barring these incidents, Hyderabad city and State remained peaceful. This was due to the steadfast loyalty of the Nizam, Afzal-ud-Doulah and his Prime Minister, Salarjang I, to the British. The Hindus, who constituted the overwhelming majority of the population, were indifferent to the developments in the north and supported the British.

In the Andhra area, there were minor incidents in towns like Cuddapah, Machilipatnam and Visakhapatnam, where there were a sizable number of Muslims. At Cuddapah[3] one Sheikh Peer Saheb preached *jehad* against the British on 28 August, 1857. It was also reported that the Muslims of that town offered prayers in the mosques for the success of the Mughal Emperor.[4] At Visakhapatnam, a Telugu placard was found exhorting the Muslims of the town to raze the town to dust and re-name it Muhammadpatnam during the Moharrum.[5]

Apart from these incidents in which Muslims were involved, there were few uprisings among the Girijans of the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Godavari districts. The Girijans, belonging to the Savara tribes of the Parlakimedi area of the Ganjam district rose in revolt against the Company. The revolt was easily put down and the rebel leader, Dundasena, was caught and hanged. After his death the area remained peaceful.

The uprising of the Girijans of the Godavari district was led by Korukonda Subba Reddi, the headman of Koraturu. He was caught and put to death. During his trial, Subba Reddi confessed that he revolted as he heard a rumour that Nana Saheb was advancing with a big army to expel the British and that he would reward all those who fought against the British. After the death of Subba Reddi, there were no more disturbances in the area.

Apart from these stray incidents and disturbances, which were very minor in nature, the whole of Andhra remained loyal to the British. The educated community in different towns vied with one another in expressing their loyalty to the British. In all the important towns like Visakhapatnam,

3. Quoted as Document No. 28, in M. Venkatarangaish Ed. *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra)* Vol. 1 (1800–1905) Hyderabad, 1965, pp. 161–64.
4. Ibid. Document No. 30, pp. 164–65.
5. Ibid. Document No. 31, pp. 165–66.

Rajahmundry, Vijayawada, Guntur, Nellore and Chittoor, public meetings were held and addresses of loyalty were submitted to the Government.

The sentiments expressed in the loyalty addresses were genuine. The Company's rule, even though it ruined the artisan class, gave the region a stable Government. The Andhra area was free from wars and disturbances. People were grateful to the Company as it provided a stable Government. They compared it with the anarchy of the Muslim rule. They, therefore, did not like the British rule to end. The natural leaders of the people, the zamindars, were thoroughly satisfied with the British rule as the Permanent Settlement had improved their economic condition and conferred on them proprietary rights on the lands they held. More than anything, the loyalty of the sepoys of the South saved India for the British.

3

ANDHRA UNDER THE CROWN

Queen's Proclamation

As a result of the outbreak of 1857, the administration of the country was transferred from the East India Company to the British Crown. On assuming power, Queen Victoria issued on 1 November, 1858, a proclamation wherein she announced the policies that would be followed by the new government. The proclamation contained a number of promises.

Firstly, it promised equality of treatment between the Indians and Europeans. It stated:

> We hold ourselves bound to the Natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects and those obligations, by the Blessing of the Almighty God we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil.

Secondly, it promised religious neutrality for all the subjects and stated that:

> We disclaim alike the Right and the desire to impose our Convictions on any of our subjects. We declare it to be our Royal will and pleasure that none in any wise favoured, none molested, or disquieted by the reason of their Religious faith or observances but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law, and we do strictly charge and enjoin on all those who may be in authority under us, that they abstain from all interference with the Religious Belief, or Worship of any of our Subjects, on the pain of our highest Displeasure.

Thirdly, it promised that the Indians would be admitted to all offices of the Government when it stated that:

> It is our further will that, so far as may be, Our Subjects, of whatever Race or Creed, be freely and impartially admitted to the offices on our service, the Duties of which they may be qualified, by their education, ability and integrity duly to discharge.

Fourthly, the proclamation promised that the government would stimulate peaceful industry in India and promote works of public utility and improvement.

The proclamation ended thus:

> In their Prosperity will be our Strength, in their Contentment our Security, and in their Gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, Strength to carry out those our wishes for the good of our people.[1]

The promises contained in the proclamation were more honoured in breach than in observance. Neither the British officials nor the ordinary Englishmen and women were prepared to pay more than mere lip service to it. The British who came to India after the uprising of 1857 regarded the Indians as barbarians and expressed their contempt towards them in various ways. They avoided interaction with the local people and formed exclusive clubs for themselves.

Discrimination was extended to various other fields also. An Arms Act was enacted prohibiting Indians from possessing arms. No such restriction was imposed on Europeans and Anglo-Indians. The feelings of superiority felt by the British community asserted itself when they launched a vehement agitation against the Ilbert Bill of 1883, when the Viceroy, Lord Ripon, wanted to give the Indian Magistrates jurisdiction over European offenders. Thus the promise of equal treatment contained in the Queen's Proclamation remained a mere promise.

The second pledge in the Queen's Proclamation relates to the entry into the services. Indians were guaranteed admission into all ranks of civil service. Again, this promise was not implemented. ICS examinations were held in London and the age of admission into it was fixed at 19. Thus all sorts of obstacles were placed in the way of an Indian entering the ICS Many public bodies of India, including the Cocanada Literary Association, submitted memorandums to the Secretary of State for India requesting him to raise the age limit. But nothing came out of these representations. Similarly, Indians were not appointed to higher administrative posts in police, engineering, medicine, etc. The Secretary of State for India, in one of his dispatches to the Viceroy in 1861, declared that "the Natives of India of native parentage are unsuited for Military, Medical appointments."[2]

Another promise contained in the Queen's Proclamation was that the Government would observe strict religious neutrality. But this promise was not kept. The Madras Native Association objected to the distribution of grants-in-aid to the missionary schools as the grant was used for the

1. Mukherji, P., *Indian Constitutional Documents*, No. 1, pp. 431–34.
2. *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh, No. 1, Document 51, pp. 210–11.*

teaching of the Bible and the propagation of Christianity. It also objected to the Government officials hobnobbing with the missionaries.

The Governor of Madras, Trevelyan, in his remarks on the petition of the Madras Native Association, defended the payment of grants to mission schools on the ground that a similar system existed in England and that it would not be possible for the Government to bear the entire expenditure on education. He was not convinced by the argument that the people in a poor country like India could not afford to start private institutions and that, in consequence, government grants would go to mission schools which had plenty of resources at their disposal.

In this connection it may be stated that the missionaries started their activities in Andhra in the early 19th century. As early as 1805, the London Mission began its activities at Visakhapatnam. It extended its activities to Cuddapah in 1822. At Machilipatnam, the Church Missionary Society started its work under the leadership of Rev. Nobel. He succeeded in converting many Brahmins and members of other higher casts to Christianity. About the same time, the American Mission at Guntur intensified its activities. The American Baptist Mission at Ongole was established in 1866. During the great famine of 1876, a large number of people, at the rate of hundred a day, were converted to Christianity.

The other promises in the Proclamation, like the development of industries and construction of public utility services, were also not implemented. The people were very dissatisfied and they expressed their grievances by submitting many petitions to the Government.

Petitions of the Madras Native Association

As stated earlier, the citizens of Madras formed themselves into an association called the Madras Native Association on 26 February, 1852, to ventilate their grievances to the Government. At first, the Association wanted to serve as a branch of the British Indian Association, Calcutta, but owing to certain differences, the Association severed its connection with the Calcutta Association and constituted itself as an independent association. On the day of its formation, the Association presented a petition to the Madras Government highlighting the grievances of the people of the Presidency.

After the advent of the Crown's administration, the Association submitted the petitions to the Madras Government in 1859 and 1861, pointing out the lapses of the Government and requested redressal of the grievances of the people.

In its petition of 1859, the Madras Native Association pointed out the abuses in the system of grant-in-aid to the mission schools. It requested that the Government, instead of giving grants to the mission schools, should

establish government provincial schools, so that the people could afford to have better education. Another demand made in the petition was that the government officials should not take part in the activities of the missionaries.

Petition of 1861

In 1861, the Madras Native Association submitted one more petition to the Government pointing out the hardships caused to the people by the various acts of commission and omission by the administration.

The petition made a pointed reference to the abuses in the revenue department. It pointed out that in the operation of the Ryotwari System of land tenure, the common abuse was over-assessment. When the ryots refused to pay the excess of the assessment, their houses were stripped of their roofs, their ploughs, ploughing cattle, grain, seed and forage for their grazing cattle, were attached and sold by auction. When the proceeds of the auction was insufficient to cover the excess of assessment, the ryots were arrested. The ryots were harassed in other ways also. The families of the defaulters were not permitted to draw water from the tanks and wells for domestic purposes.

In districts like Ganjam, Visakhapatnam and Krishna, where the zamindari system of land revenue prevailed, there were many abuses and the condition of the ryots was miserable. Under the zamindari system of land tenure, the zamindars paid a sum, normally estimated at 35 per cent, to the Government. They kept 15 per cent as their share and remaining 50 per cent was left to the cultivator, who had to meet all the expenses of cultivation and also pay *durbary* and other expenses of the zamindar.

As both the systems, namely, the Ryotwari and Zamindari, contained many abuses, the Madras Native Association suggested the introduction of the Village System, or the collection of the revenue from the land by means of villages instead of individuals, without the interference of the zamindars or middlemen on one hand and free from the harassing oppression of the government servants on the other. The Government would stand to benefit by this system since first it would be relieved from the loss and corruption entailed by the Ryotwari system. Secondly, it was secured from all loss arising from unequal land tax. Thirdly, the revenue would not depend upon the correct assessment of the cultivation. Fourthly, the charge of collection would be considerably decreased. The petition pointed out that a lighter and a more reasonable assessment would ensure a much larger cultivation and thereby the revenues of the government would be increased.[3]

3. Petition of the Madras Native Association, 1861, to the Governor of Madras. Quoted as Document No. 45 in *The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra), Vol. I, 1800–1905*, Ed. by M. Venkatarangaiah, Hyderabad, 1966, pp. 195–202.

The petition next pointed out the other grievance of the people arising out of the imposition of a vexatious impost called *Moturpha* or tax upon trade and occupations. It was imposed even on "the most trifling articles of trade". In addition to *Moturpha*, there were other imposts to raise, what was called "extra revenue." Poor people were forced to pay taxes for getting privileges like cutting jungle wood, grazing cattle in forests, and even for collecting cowdung or cutting grass used in thatching. The "poorest of the poor" were forced to pay taxes. The petition wanted abolition of *Moturpha* and other vexatious imposts.[4]

The next grievance to which the attention of the Government was drawn was the salt monopoly, which was introduced by the East India Company to raise revenue. The Government began to auction the manufacture of salt to contractors. This resulted in an abnormal increase in the price of salt. The petition wanted the abolition of salt monopoly. It also wanted that the Government should stop producing arrack in its distilleries as the consumption of spirituous liquors had increased and was ruining the poor.[5]

The petition next pointed out the inefficiency and corruption in the public works department. It pointed out that the canals, reservoirs and other irrigation works were not kept in good repair. This had resulted in the decline of agriculture. The petition opposed the practice of the Government in entrusting the construction of irrigation works to the revenue officials like Tahsildars. These officials, who had no knowledge of engineering, not only delayed the construction of works, but also misappropriated the funds. The petition also pointed out the inadequate attention paid by the Government to the construction of roads. Less than one per cent of the revenue of the Government was spent for this purpose. The petition criticised the Government for forcing the poor ryots to construct roads at their own expense.

The next grievance pointed out in the petition was the administration of the law courts. Many of the judges were without any legal training. They were from the revenue department. The petition wanted the appointment of judges who had good grounding in law so that they could discharge their duties impartially.

The petition wanted that the police be made a separate department. The police, as they happened to be under the revenue department, were drafted to assist the officials in the collection of revenue, neglecting their immediate duty of preserving the lives and property of the people.

Finally, the petition wanted the abolition of the ICS and the appointment of Indians to higher positions in the bureaucracy.

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4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.

Administration

By 1856, Andhra had eight collectorates. They were (1) Ganjam, (2) Visakhapatnam, (3) Godavari, (4) Krishna (Machilipatnam), (5) Nellore, (6) Bellary, (7) Cuddapah and (8) Kurnool.

The northern-most collectorate was that of Ganjam. It consisted of the present Ganjam district of Orissa and Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh. The Ganjam district, which formed part of the Chicacole Circar, came under British control in 1766. The district was divided into two geographical regions—the plains and the hills. The hill region, inhabited by tribals, was administratively known as the Agency area. By the Act of 1839, the Collector of Ganjam exercised power over the Agency area as an Agent of the Governor. For purposes of revenue, the district had two distinct areas, viz., the Zamindari tract and the Ryotwari and Inam tract.

The district experienced political disturbances in 1813 and 1832. The Pindaris raided the district in the 1830s. The Khonds and other tribals rose in revolt and it was put down with a heavy hand by George Russel in 1836. Towards the end of the 18th century, there was another tribal insurrection under the leadership of Korra Mallayya. The rapacity of the moneylenders and tradesmen of the plains and the corruption and the haughty behaviour of the officials provoked the Girijans to rise in revolt against the Government. The revolt was put down and Mallayya was arrested. He died in prison.

The Visakhapatnam and Godavari districts also contained Agency areas. The Godavari district came under the control of the East India Company in 1766 when it acquired the Northern Circars. In 1802, the two collectorates at Rajahmundry and Kakinada were united into the district Rajahmundry. When the Crown took over the administration, the district of Rajahmundry, Machilipatnam, and Krishna were re-organised into two districts of Godavari and Krishna. Bhadrachalam Taluk was added to the Godavari district in 1874 from the Central Province.

The majority of the people of Andhra depended on agriculture for their livelihood. Rice was the principal cereal crop. The Company did not pay much attention to the development of agriculture. Only towards the end of its rule it constructed anicuts over the Godavari and Krishna rivers. Due to the untiring efforts of Sir Arthur Cotton, an anicut across the Godavari river at Dowaleshwaram was completed in 1852. It brought immediate prosperity to the district, which had suffered acutely from a severe famine in 1833. Similarly, the anicut which was constructed over the Krishna at Vijayawada in 1855 brought prosperity to the district.

When Crown took over the administration, it did not evince much interest for the development of irrigation works. The only important irrigation work it undertook in Andhra was the construction of the Kurnool-Cuddapah Canal.

The general condition of the ryots was miserable under the Crown's administration due to high incidence of taxation and defective tenancy laws. More than a third of the cultivated area was under the zamindari tenure. Rents payable by the ryots were not fixed and they were liable to be evicted by the zamindars at any time. Before 1884, there was no legislation protecting the tenants of the zamindars. In the Ryotwari area, the condition of the tenants was in no way better. Even though the survey and settlement work was completed before 1885, no attempt was made to levy tax on land by taking into consideration the fertility of the soil, expenses of production and the course of prices. The taxes on the ryots were so heavy that *Lokaranjani*, a Telugu journal, complained in October 1875 that the ryots were better off under the Company's administration than under the Crown.

As a result of the Government's indifference towards the ryots, Andhra suffered frequently from famines.

Famines

Andhra suffered from severe famines in the 19th century. The most severe famine, commonly known as the Ganjam famine, occurred during the years 1865-66. In the early decades of the 18th century, Ganjam district experienced famines during the years 1799–1801 and 1836–39. These famines were partly due to the political disturbances in the district.

The famine of 1865-66 cannot be ascribed to political disturbances. It occurred because of speculation. When America was involved in a Civil War during the years 1861–65, Great Britain imported raw cotton from India. As a result, the price of cotton increased. The ryots of the Ganjam district took advantage of the situation and grew cotton. They earned good profits. But after the end of the American Civil War, American cotton began to be imported into England, and the market was glutted with cotton. This resulted in the fall of cotton prices. The ryots of Ganjam, who had pinned their hopes on reaping huge profits, suddenly became paupers. There were no buyers for their cotton. All their investments went down the drain. Not only that, rice became scarce, since cotton was grown on the fields where previously paddy was cultivated. The scarcity of rice hit all sections of the population. Thousands of people died of hunger. Many people migrated to South Africa, Mauritius, Fiji and other distant places, as coolies.

Famines occurred in other districts also due to the lack of irrigation facilities. The Rayalaseema area became a famine-stricken area. Not less than 11 famines occurred during the latter half of the 18th century. Thousands of people died on roadsides in the districts of Cuddapah and Kurnool. Visakhapatnam district was also affected by famine, but it did not suffer like the Rayalaseema district. As the district was linked with Krishna and Godavari districts by rail, rice was imported from the two surplus districts.

Rice from Bengal and Burma was also imported into the district by steamers. The district was also fortunate in having good roads connecting it with the rice-producing areas of Jeypore and Central Province. As a result of the famines, the population decreased in Rayalaseema, Guntur and Ganjam in the seventh and eighth decades of the 18th century.

Famines had an effect on the crime rate. Grain riots occurred in many Andhra districts and troops were sent to quell the violence. The severity of the famines could have been mitigated had the Government improved irrigation facilities. The Government did not even formulate a famine code. Another effect of the famines was that a large number of people, especially in Guntur and Cuddapah districts, were converted into Christianity by foreign missionaries who opened famine relief camps.

Decline of Handicrafts

With the advent of the Crown's rule, the condition of the artisans became miserable. The different handicrafts were unable to face competition from machine-made goods and a large number of artisans were thrown out of employment. No new industries were established to absorb them. Many artisans left the country to seek employment as coolies in Burma, Malaysia and other countries.

Communications

In the field of communications, not much progress was made through the construction of roads, bridges and railways. The Government formulated its policy in the development of communications with the aim of strengthening the defences of the country. As the Government feared attack on India from the north, it strengthened the defence of North India by a network of roads and railways. The South was neglected. In Andhra, railway construction began only in 1862 and the line between Puttur and Renigunta was commissioned in September 1862. Other lines were constructed during 1864–69 connecting Gooty with Renigunta.

From the above account it is clear that the British administration in India did nothing to uphold the pledges given by the Queen in her Proclamation. That is why the period between the years 1858–85 is regarded as the period of broken pledges.

Rampa was a small village in the Chodavaram division of the Godavari district, while Rekapalle was a village in the Bhadrachalam Taluk of the same district. In 1879, rebellion broke out in these two villages for entirely different reasons.

The area round the Rampa village formed part of the Agency tract of the Godavari district. In 1813, the Company formulated the revenue settlement of the area. The Chief of the area, who was responsible for the maintenance

of law and order, was known as *Mansabdar.* The Mansabdar was assisted by a number of *Muttadars* or subordinate hill-chiefs. Trouble in Rampa region started as early as 1835 when the Mansabdar Ramabhupati Dev died, leaving a daughter and an illegitimate son named Madhavati Rambhupati Dev. The Muttadars recognised the daughter as the heiress. She announced that she would remain unmarried, but in 1840 she was driven out of the village when her chastity was suspected. The Madras Government took over the estate and placed it under Court of Wards. In 1848, the estate was handed over to Madhavati Rambhupati Dev, the illegitimate son of the former Mansabdar. The Muttadars agreed to accept the new Mansabdar, provided he agreed not to extract more rents from them.

Within a short time, the new Mansabdar indulged in a series of provocative acts. He began to occupy the lands of the Muttadars and oppressed them in various ways. The police and the local officials condoned his activities since he bribed them. When the tribals revolted, they were crushed down with a heavy hand by the police. The Mansabdar became so haughty that he confiscated the lands of the eight Muttadars. He also imposed unauthorised taxes on persons collecting fuel from the forests, and grazing their cattle. From these unlawful levies, he derived considerable amount of revenue. He made the people believe that all his actions had the sanction of the Government. The higher officials were completely ignorant of the discontent of the tribals as the local officials never informed the higher authorities of the depredations of the Mansabdar.

This discontent of the tribals increased when the Government introduced new *abkari* regulations preventing the tribals from tapping toddy for domestic purposes. The right of tapping toddy was auctioned to the highest bidders. The toddy contractors allowed the tribals to draw toddy only after paying a fee called *Chigurupannu*. The Mansabdar imposed an additional levy called *Modalupannu* at the rate of one half or two-thirds of *Chigurupannu.* These two levies were the immediate cause of the Rampa rebellion of 1879. Another contributing cause was the unpopularity of the police, who had assisted the toddy contractors and the Mansabdar in collecting these levies.

Insurrection broke out in 1879 and it extended over an area of 5,000 miles in the hilly and jungle tracts. The Government deployed as many as six regiments of Madras Infantry, two companies of Sappers and Miners and a Squadron of Cavalry, and a wing of infantry from the Hyderabad contingent.

The leaders of the insurgents were Chandrayya, Sardar Jangam Pulicanta Sambayya, Karu Tammanna Dora and Ambul Reddi of Boduluru. Sambayya was arrested as early as 29 April, 1879. Chandrayya, however scored many successes in the Yellavaram division at the beginning of May and succeeded in burning the Addatigala Police Station. The disaffection spread to Rekapalle and Dutcharti. It was also rumoured that the hill tribes of Polavaram would

join the insurgents. So the Government moved troops from all sides. The northern and eastern parts of Rampa country were occupied by the sepoys and military posts were established along the banks of the Godavari and Saveri (Sabari). At the same time Sullivan, First Member of the Board of Revenue, visited the district to ascertain the real cause of the trouble and suggest remedial measures. The Mansabdar was deposed and the Muttadars were promised that they could deal directly with the Government. These measures defused the situation. By August 1879 as many as 70 of Chandrayya's men had been captured and the Rampa area was comparatively quiet.

Rekapalle was also pacified about the same time. The apprehended rising in Polavaram did not take place. Ambul Reddi was captured in November 1879 and Chandrayya was killed in 1880. By November 1880, order was restored.

Rekapalle

Rekapalle joined the Rampa rebellion in 1879 and gave much trouble to the Government. The causes of the rising were quite different from those of the Rampa rebellion. When that area was under Central Province administration, *podu* cultivation was unrestricted and the assessment on it was four annas an axe. When the area was included in the Madras Presidency in 1874, the Madras Government increased the tax by three times as it wanted to discourage *podu* cultivation since it resulted in deforestation. The Government had also prohibited the felling of certain species of trees in reserved forest areas. These new taxes and restrictions were considered a grievance. The Rampa rebel leaders exploited these grievances of the people of Rekapalle and invited them to revolt. On 10 July, 1879, the Rampa rebels under Ambul Reddi, assisted by the tribals of Rekapalle, attacked Vaddegudem Police Station. The attack failed. But the rebels succeeded in capturing a police patrol party. Thereupon the Government sent an armed force and pacified the area. By September order was restored. Rekapalle was disturbed again in October 1880, when Tammanna Dora looted some of the villages. But the Government restored law and order within a short time.

The revolts at Rampa and Rekapalle were of a minor nature and they did not pose a serious challenge to the British authority in India.

4

THE AWAKENING OF ANDHRA

The latter half of the 19th century saw the beginning of new stirrings in the minds of the Andhras. With the establishment of the University of Madras in 1857, higher education in Andhra began to make a lot of progress. In 1843, the Church Missionary Society, under the leadership of Rev. Noble, started a school at Machilipatnam for imparting western education. In 1864, it was upgraded to a college. In 1873, the Government of Madras started a Second Grade college at Rajahmundry. It was made a Degree College in 1877. In 1878, the Hindu College (the present Mrs. A.V.N. College) was established at Visakhapatnam. In 1879, the Khallikota College was established at Berhampur. The spread of English education in Andhra, especially in the Coastal districts, created a new class of elite imbued with the liberalism of the West. They felt suffocated in the orthodox set-up of Hindu society of the time. They gave up their attitude of uncritical deference to authority, tradition and custom, and became pioneers of the social and political reform movement.

KANDUKURI VEERESALINGAM (1848–1919)

He (Veeresalingam) shook them out of their medieval stupor; he whipped them out of their ignorance; he purged them of many of their superstitions; and he gave an altogether modern, progressive and humanistic turn to their life and thought.[1]

Andhra Desh and Andhra people could not be what they are if Veeresalingam had not arrived to vitalise them. He was one of the great men of India, of keen insight, great courage and dynamic energy. He fought against untruth and championed the cause of progress with Herculean vigour.[2]

Sri Veeresalingam Pantulu was one of the earliest pioneers in South India to demand and work for radical changes in our society. Like all

1. V.R. Narala, *Veeresalingam* (New Delhi, 1968), p. 10.
2. Rajaji, (Ed.), *Swatantra* (Madras, 1948), Centenary tributes, p. 10.

pioneers who are ahead of their time, he suffered misunderstanding and persecution. We owe it to his memory to work for social regeneration even as he did, braving all ridicule and danger.[3]

Veeresalingam is the greatest Andhra of modern times. He sums up in his personal history the evolution of an epoch. . . . Most people live without illuminating the epoch in which they live. They neither give nor catch the light. The hero is he who both catches and generates new spirit, that fecund principle of change and advancement without which life becomes mere stagnation and a nuisance. Veeresalingam reflected the new age because he was one of its potent makers. If he was the creator it was partly because he was its creature for only they create who allow themselves to be impregnated by the time spirit.[4]

The above tributes reveal the personality of Veeresalingam who was born at Rajahmundry on 16 April, 1848. His father, Subbarayudu, was a poor Brahmin. His mother was Pumamma. Veeresalingam lost his father when he was only four years old.

In spite of her poverty, Pumamma wanted to give her son the best possible education. So she sent him to the Government District School. He passed the Matriculation examination in 1869. He worked as a teacher at Korangi and at Rajahmundry as Senior Telugu Pandit.

Literary Activities

His literary activities were varied. He wrote the first novel in Telugu, *Rajasekhara Charitram*. He was the first to render drama in Telugu. The first Telugu books on natural sciences and history were written by him. He was the first to write in prose for women. In fact, he was the father of the renaissance movement in Andhra.

Social Reforms

Education of Women

During the 1870s, there was a lively controversy in the Telugu journals *Andhra Basha Sanjivini* and *Purushadra Pradayini* on the question of educating girls. *Andhra Basha Sanjivini* was edited by Mahamahopadhyaya Kokonda Venkataratnam Pantulu and *Purushadra Pradayini* was edited by Uma Ranganayakula Naidu of Machilipatnam. Kokonda Venkataratnam was a traditionalist. His journal *Andhra Basha Sanjivini*, started in 1871, favoured the use of *Grandika Basha* or literary style as opposed to *Vyavaharika Basha* or spoken idiom. It also opposed Western learning and social reform.

3. S. Radhakrisknan, *Swatantra* (Madras, 1948).
4. C. R. Reddy, quoted in *Veeresalingam*, V. R. Narla, p. 81.

Veeresalingam took part in the controversy by championing women's education. To propagate his views effectively, Veeresalingam started his journal *Vivekavardhini* in 1874 at Rajahmundry. In order to ridicule the opponents of women's education, he wrote many satires, lampoons and dramas like "Brahma Vivaham", criticising early marriages, Kanya Sulkam and marriage of old men with young girls.

To practice what he had preached, he started a girls school at Dawaleswaram in September 1874. It was the first institution of its kind in Andhra. Its headmaster was Malladi Achanna Sastri. In 1881, he established another school for girls at Innispeta in Rajahmundry. He had also educated his wife Rajyalakshmi, so that she could help him in his social reform activities. Besides the school for women, he started schools for Harijans and night schools for the working classes. He was also the first in Andhra to encourage co-education. He admitted girls into the educational institutions started by him.

Widow Re-Marriages

Veeresalingam's pioneering work in the emancipation of the Andhra widows overshadows his achievements in other branches of social reform.

In 1874, a Widow Re-marriage Association was started in Madras with much fanfare. Some of the eminent citizens of Madras like Dewan Bahadur R. Ranganatha Rao and P. Chenchal Rau were its members. But within two years the association became moribund. In 1875, Mahamahopadhyaya Paravastu Venkata Rangacharyulu of Visakhapatnam published a book called *Punarvivaha Sangrahamu* favouring the re-marriage of widows.

Kokanda Venkataratnam was outraged by the very idea of widow re-marriage. He took up the cudgels against Rangacharyulu and tried to enlist the support of Veeresalingam in spite of the fact that he and Veeresalingam were not on cordial terms. Veeresalingam, whose sympathies were on the side of the widows, however, felt that by merely indulging in debate and discussion the movement for widow re-marriage could not be carried forward. So he bided his time.

By 1875, Veeresalingam developed contacts with influential British officers and eminent citizens of Madras and other towns of the Presidency. E. P. Metcalfe, the popular Principal of Government Arts College, Rajahmundry, took keen interest in the activities of Veeresalingam and enrolled himself as a subscriber of *Vivekavardhini*, the journal of Veeresalingam and supported his activities. In September 1878, Sanga Samskarana Samajam (Social Reform Association) was established at Rajahmundry.

In order to convince the orthodox leaders like Kokanda Venkataratnam and Vedam Venkataraya Sastri that re-marriage of the widows was not prohibited by the old Dharma Sastra, Veeresalingam began to address public

meetings where he quoted chapter and verse from the Sastras to prove his point. On 3 August, 1879, he delivered his first lecture on the re-marriage of widows at Maharaja's Girls School. The speech created a sensation throughout the Andhra Desa. On 12 October, he delivered his second lecture at the same place. The orthodox leaders took up the challenge and organised special meetings to counter the arguments of Veeresalingam. In these public debates held at Rajahmundry and Kakinada, the opponents of widow re-marriage could not prove their point. So they encouraged the rowdies to physically assault Veeresalingam, but he was saved by his students.

In 1880, Veeresalingam, with his two steadfast friends Challapalti Bapayya and Basavaraju Gavara Raju, formed the Widow Re-marriage Association. After creating the necessary psychological background, Veeresalingam plunged into action. He sent his students to different and remote places to find out persons who were prepared to marry widows. But the most difficult part was to find parents who were prepared to get their daughters re-married. Veeresalingam came to know that a mother of a young widow was anxious to get her daughter re-married. So he sent his students to the remote village where the young widow lived and with great difficulty brought her safely to Rajahmundry. The name of the widow was Sitamma. She was married to Gogulapati Sriramulu on 11 December, 1881, at Rajahmundry. Thus, the first widow re-marriage in Andhra from the higher castes was performed. The marriage was performed in a tense atmosphere. The orthodox leaders of Rajahmundry tried their best to break up the marriage. The students and the followers of Veeresalingam were equally determined to see that the marriage was performed. The police guarded the entire locality where the marriage took place. After failing in their attempt to frustrate the marriage, the orthodox leaders excommunicated the 31 families who took part in the celebration.

The second widow re-marriage took place four days after the first. On 15 December, 1881, Racharla Ramchandra Rao married a widow named Ratnamma. By 1892, 20 widow re-marriages took place. In his efforts, Veeresalingam was financially supported by Pyda Ramakrishnayya, a philanthropic merchant of Kakinada, who on different occasions gave a total amount of Rs. 30,000. To look after the widows who were not re-married and disowned by the parents, Veeresalingam built Widow Home at Madras in 1897 and at Rajahmundry 1905.

In 1883 Veeresalingam started a monthly magazine called *Satihita Bodhini* for women.

The news of Veeresalingam's activities spread to the different parts of the country. Religious and social reformers like Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Mahadev Govinda Ranade, N. G. Chandravarkar and Maharshi D. K. Karve highly appreciated the work of Veeresalingam. His fame spread abroad. Miss

Manning of the United Kingdom left £50 in her will for the Widow Home of Veeresalingam. The Government, in appreciation of his work, conferred on him the title of "Rao Bahadur" in 1893. The highest recognition from the people came when he presided over the Indian Social Reform Congress held at Madras in 1898. In this meeting, Mahadev Govinda Ranade acclaimed Veeresalingam as "Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar of the South".

In 1899, Veeresalingam was appointed as the first Telugu Pandit in the Presidency College, Madras. He retired from the position in 1904 and returned to his native town, Rajahmundry.

After his retirement, he continued his work by establishing a Rescue Home (*Vitantu Saranalayam*) for widows and an orphanage. On 15 December, 1905, he established *Hitakarini Samajam* to run the institutions he had established. On 2 May, 1908, he got the *Samajam* registered and endowed it with all his property, worth about Rs. 50,000.

His other activities included his fight against the *nautch* system and corruption among officials. The keeping of concubines was regarded as a status symbol. These concubines came from a caste called Devadasis. It was in their houses that all deals, official and non-official, were made. To get official favours, concubines were used. At marriages, dance programmes by Devadasis were a regular feature. Veeresalingam attacked this system as it was breeding sexual immorality.

His fight against corruption among the officials of Rajahmundry was a saga by itself. A District Munsiff committed suicide when Veeresalingam exposed his corruption.

Veeresalingam lost his wife on 11 August, 1910. Her death was a terrible blow to him, coming as it was in the wake of the death of his close associate, Desiraju Peda Bapayya, in 1909. His enemies tried to defame him by spreading wild rumours and involved him in defamation cases. He came out of the cases unscathed, but lost the zest for life. He died on 27 May, 1919, at Madras.

Growth of Journalism

The period 1858–1905 saw the rise of Telugu journalism. The first Telugu journal, *Satyadoota*, was published by the Christian Association of Bellary. By 1905, as many as 20 journals were published in Telugu. Amongst them the most popular were *Andhra Prakasika Sasilekha, Krishna Patrika, Vivekavardhini, Deshabhimani* and *Rasikollasini*. They boldly criticised the Government for its failure in administration. They also helped the spread of new ideas of nationalism and democracy.

The spread of education and the rise of Telugu journalism accelerated the pace of public life in the Coastal districts. Many associations were formed for political and other purposes. On 16 May, 1884, the Madras

Mahajana Sabha was formed with P. Rangaiah Naidu as the President and P. Anandacharyulu as the Secretary. Many delegates from the Telugu districts attended the first conference of the Sabha. Among the literary associations, the Coconada Literary Association was the most prominent. It took lively interest in public affairs and submitted two memorandum to the Secretary of State for India, praying that the limit of age fixed for the Civil Service Examination may be raised. When the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885 at Bombay, a number of delegates from Berhampur, Machilipatnam, Cuddapah, Bellary and Anantapur attended it. Prominent among them were P. Rangaiah Naidu, P. Anandacharyulu and N. Subbarao Pantulu. Twenty-one delegates from Andhra attended the Calcutta session of the Congress in 1886. P. Anandacharyulu presided over the Nagpur Session of the Congress in 1891. The other prominent Andhras who took part in the deliberation of the Congress were P. Rangaiah Naidu, A. C. Parthasarathi Naidu—the editor of *Andhra Prakasika*—and Nyapati Subbarao of Rajahmundry.

Political Awakening

The formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 gave an impetus to the establishment of various district associations. In 1892, the Krishna District Association was formed. It was first of its kind not only in the Madras Presidency, but probably also in India. Ramaswamy Gupta, an active member of the Indian National Congress, organised the Krishna District Conference at Guntur (which was then part of the Krishna district) in July 1892. The second conference look place at Machilipatnam in June 1893. In 1894, the ryots of Krishna held a conference at Eluru (which was also then in Krishna district) to protest against the enhancement of water rates and refused to cultivate their lands unless water rates were reduced. However, real political awakening in Andhra did not emerge until 1905 when *Vandemataram* and *Swadeshi Movement* shook the entire country.

The national movement in India acquired a new vigour and momentum with the start of the 20th century. Till 1905, the Congress confined its activities to submit petitions to the Government, praying for constitutional reforms. It wanted the abolition of the Indian Council, expansion and reform of the legislatures at the Centre and the Provinces, holding simultaneous ICS Examination in England and India, relaxation of the Arms Act, etc.

The Congress leaders, who had full faith in British liberalism, felt frustrated when the non-responsive British bureaucracy paid little heed to these prayers and petitions. A section of the educated community, under the leadership of Balgangadhar Tilak, began to develop a new spirit of opposition to the Government. Tilak stimulated national spirit in Maharashtra by organising annual Ganesh festivals and by reviving the cult of Shivaji.

The spirit of unrest and discontent voiced by Tilak soon spread to other parts of the country, including Andhra. One cause that had stimulated the Indian national spirit was the resounding victory of Japan over Russia. Indians gained confidence that some day they could become free. In Andhra, the victory of Japan created an interest in that country. Adipudi Somanath Rao, a well-known social reformer of the day, wrote the history of Japan in Telugu and dedicated it to the Raja of Munagala. Sriram Virabrahmam wrote a drama in Telugu called "Japaneeyamu". The Raja of Munagala named his sons "Togo" and "Nogi" after the Japanese Commanders of army and navy respectively.[5]

The most important event that gave a new dimension to our national struggle was the partition of Bengal in 1905 on the grounds of administrative convenience. The real reason was to break the solidarity of the Bengali intelligentsia and to create a Hindu-Muslim rift.

In the original scheme for the partition of Bengal, there was also a proposal to unite the Oriya-speaking areas under one administration. This involved the separation of the Ganjam district and the Agency tracts of Ganjam and Visakhapatnam districts from the Madras Presidency. Andhras opposed the partition of Bengal and also the proposed separation of Ganjam district and the Agency tract of Ganjam and Visakhapatnam districts from the Madras Presidency. The Andhras were not opposed to the unification of Oriya territories as such, but only to the inclusion of the Telugu areas of the Ganjam district in the proposed Orissa province. The National Congress passed a resolution in December 1903 opposing the partition of Bengal and also the separation of Ganjam and other areas of the Madras Presidency. The Government of Madras also expressed its opposition to the separation of its northern districts. Important newspapers like *The Hindu, The Madras Standard, Swadesamitran* and *Shans-ul-Akbar* also voiced their opposition to the separation of Ganjam and other areas. Sir Andrew Fraser, Lt. Governor of Bengal, also opposed the transfer of Ganjam district and other areas of Madras Presidency on the grounds that the Telugus in those areas formed a good percentage of the population and the necessity of administering to the interests of this large population would give rise to immense difficulties even under Bengal. Noticing the universal opposition to the transfer of Ganjam and other areas, the Government of India dropped the proposal with the following observation:

> It is shown that the transfer would give rise to serious difficulties in connection with linguistic and racial condition and the geographical confrontation of the tract in question, that it would greatly complicate and confuse its judicial arrangements and that it would place the administration of peculiar land revenue system in the hands of officers

5. Kalewara Rao, Ayyadevara, *Na Jeevitha, Navya Andhramu,* (Vijayawada), p. 85.

who would have no acquaintance with the principles on which it is based or with the language in which the bulk of its records are and must continue to be maintained.[6]

After the formation of the province of Bihar and Orissa, the Oriya leaders of Ganjam continued to agitate for the amalgamation of Ganjam and other areas of the Madras Presidency in the new province. The Government of India stated in 1912 that the proposed union was "unnecessary and undesirable". The Oriya leaders approached Sir Arthur Lawley and Lords Carmichael and Pentland and were informed that the question would not be re-opened. In 1920, Sachchidananda Sinha moved a resolution in the Central Legislative Assembly in favour of the amalgamation of the Oriya tracts. The Government of India promised an enquiry and the resolution was not pressed.[7]

Vandemataram Movement in Andhra

With the partition of Bengal in 1905, the freedom struggle of the country entered into a new stage. In Bengal, under the dynamic leadership of Surendranath Banerjee, a strong movement was launched to pressurise the Government to annul the partition. Picketing of shops and the bonfire of foreign goods became the order of the day. The movement was popularly known as the *Swadeshi Movement.* New leaders like Balgangadhar Tilak, Lala Lajpat Rai and Bipin Chandra Pal appeared on the national scene and placed before the people the ideal of Swaraj or freeing the country from foreign rule. The entire country reverberated with the cries of *Vandemataram,* the immortal hymn of the motherland, composed by the great Bengali writer Bankim Chandra Chatterjee. To the Government it was like a red rag to a bull.

During the years 1906–1911, Andhra politics was shaped by the *Vandemataram Movement* and its ideals. In 1906, in Madras, an Industrial Association was started by the leading citizens to propagate the ideal of Swadeshi and for the sale of Swadeshi articles. A Swadeshi League was also started. It deputed Nyapathi Subbarao and K. Venkataramana Rao, an advocate and a journalist, to tour Andhra to popularise Swadeshi. In Kurnool, subscriptions were collected to send a student to Japan to learn glass making. The arrest of Surendranath Banerjee in 1906 while attending a conference at Barisal in Bengal created great commotion in the country. In several Andhra towns like Rajahmundry, Kakinada,Vijayanagaram and Gooty, protest meetings were held. It was that meeting that made the slogan *Vandemataram-Manade Rajyam* and the song *Vandemataram* popular in Andhra.

6. Govt, of India, Census 1961, *District Census Handbook, Srikakulam District,* (Hyderabad, 1966), pp. XXV.
7. Ibid.

Bipin Chandra Pal's Tour in Andhra

The *Vandemataram Movement* received great impetus in Andhra when Bipin Chandra Pal toured Coastal Andhra in April 1907. The tour was organised by Mutnuri Krishna Rao, the editor of *Krishna Patrika* of Machilipatnam. Pal first visited Vijayanagaram and Visakhapatnam. But he did not make any impact on the people of these towns. He next visited Kakinada on the 17th and delivered two lectures, the first on Vedanta and the second on Swaraj. He spoke of Swaraj as the national ideal and boycott as the instrument of achieving it.

Pal stayed in Rajahmundry from 19 to 24 April and delivered five lectures. He received a tremendous ovation at that place, which is the cultural centre of Andhra. It was also politically a very active place. The youth of the town, in February 1907, founded an association called *Bala Bharati Samiti* for promoting the Swadeshi Movement. Prominent men of the place, like Ganti Lakshmana—brother of Andhra Kesari Tanguturi Prakasam, Kanchumarti Ramachandra Rao and Chilakuri Veerabhadra Rao were associated with it. The *Karanam* of Rajahmundry, Gunneswara Rao, was also an active member of the *Samiti*. Pal, besides, delivering lectures on Swaraj, Swadeshi, Boycott and the Brahma Samaj, opened the Godavari Swadeshi stores. Gunneswara Rao presented him with Rs. 1,000 as a donation for the opening of a national school at Rajahmundry, which was to be affiliated to the Bengal Council of National Education.

From Rajahmundry, Pal visited Vijayawada, where he was the guest of the Raja of Munagala. There he addressed two meetings. At the first he spoke on "Vedantaand message of Freedom". At the second he spoke on Swadeshi.

Pal proceeded to Machilipatnam from Vijayawada. There he received an enthusiastic welcome and thousands of people attended his meetings. He spoke on Swadeshi-Boycott, National Education and Swaraj. In his last lecture on the "Matrumurthi", he explained the origin and the meaning of "*Vandemataram*" and the esoteric meaning of the worship of Kali and Durga. He concluded his speech with a stirring appeal for funds in aid of the "Andhra National Educational Committee" formed at Rajahmundry for the purpose of establishing a national school and college to help the students expelled from the Government College, Rajahmundry, for wearing *Vandemataram* badges.

Two good things came out of Pal's visit. One was the formation of *Youngmcn's Swaraj Samiti* and the second was the establishment of a committee to set up a national school at Machilipatnam. In due course, the *Andhra Jateeya Kalasaala* was formed with Kopalle Hanumantha Rao as Principal.[8] After competing his Andhra tour, Pal left for Madras on 1 May. His Andhra tour was a grand success. He electrified the political atmosphere

8. *The Hindu* (Madras), 11 May, 1907.

of entire Coastal Andhra. Henceforth, Rajahmundry and Machilipatnam became important centres of the Swadeshi Movement in Andhra.

Rajahmundry College Incident

The speeches of Pal made a great impact on the students of Rajahmundry. They expressed their national feelings by wearing *Vandemataram* badges and greeting one another with the slogan *Vandemataram*. Mark Hunter, the Principal of the Arts and Training College, like other Englishmen of the time, attached much political significance to *Vandemataram*. On 19 March, 1907, i.e., about a month before Pal's arrival in Rajahmundry, he convened a meeting of the students and forbade them from wearing *Vandemataram* badges or shouting the slogan *Vandemataram*.

One of the students of the Training College, Gadicherla Hari Sarvothama Rao, presented an address to Pal on 24 April. Hunter wanted to teach a lesson to the students for defying his orders. So out of the total strength of 222 students of the college, he debarred 138 from taking examinations for two years. The Governor-in-Council approved the action of the Principal. Hari Sarvothama Rao was debarred from employment as a teacher in any Government or aided school. Later, he was debarred from employment in any office under the Government. Hari Sarvothama Rao entered public life and made a significant contribution to the library movement and adult education. The Rajahmundry college incident marked the beginning of Andhra students participation on the freedom struggle of the country.

The *Vandemataram Movement*, apart from quickening the political awakening in Andhra, also led to the establishment of national educational institutions and Swadeshi stores. Many young men went to Japan for industrial training. Another off-shoot of the movement was the establishment of secret terrorist societies in different parts of the country. But in Andhra, the terrorists did not make much impact. Darsy Chenchaiah was the only one from Andhra who joined the Gadhar party, but he did not stay in it for long.

The *Vandemataram* and Swadeshi movements began to lose their momentum by 1910. From that year onwards, the moderates were in ascendancy. Tilak, Pal and Aurobindo, who had led the extremist nationalist movement, were no longer in the picture. Tilak was imprisoned at Mandalay. Pal was also imprisoned. Aurobindo settled down in Pondicherry and took to spiritual life. In Andhra also, the political leadership came into the hands of moderates like Konda Venkatappaiah and B. N. Sarma.

5

BIRTH OF THE ANDHRA MOVEMENT

Psychological Background

The *Vandemataram* and Swadeshi Movements created among the Andhras a lively interest in their language, literature and their past history. In 1910, the Vignana Chandrika Mandali published *Andhrula Charitramu* (History of the Andhras). The work proved to be very popular. Andhras realised that in days gone by, they were not behind the other people in India in the extent of their kingdoms, their intellectual attainments or their civilisation.

While realising their past greatness, Andhras became keenly aware of their contemporary backwardness. Even though the Telugu districts accounted for 40 per cent of the people and 58 per cent of the Madras Presidency, Andhra had no effective voice in the politics of the region. The realisation of their backwardness became all the more galling when they had to hear the taunting remarks of the Tamils. A Tamilian, on his way to Madras from a Andhra town, remarked to a fellow Andhra passenger that "the Telugus are a backward race, they have no brains, and they have never had men like our Bhasyam Aiyengar or Muthuswamy Aiyer."[1] This created an interest among the Telugus to know their real position in the civil services of the Presidency.

During the second half of April 1911, a correspondent contributed a series of six articles to *The Hindu* on "the present position of the Telugu people". In these articles, he pointed out, with the help of facts and figures, that the Telugus were a backward people since the proportion of appointments held by them in the civil services of the Madras Presidency was very low. In the cadre of Presidency appointments, there were only 8 Telugus as compared to 56 non-Telugus. In the Judiciary, there was not even a single Andhra holding the position of a district judge even though there were as many of 19 non-Telugu district judges.[2] The correspondent also pointed out that the educational institutions in Andhra towns like Bapatla,

1. Quoted in "Are the Telugus a backward people?" *The Hindu* (Madras), 15 April 1911.
2. Ibid.

Machilipatnam, Narasapuram, Rajamundry, Visakhapatnam and Parlakimedi were headed by non-Telugus. He blamed the Andhra leaders for this sorry state of affairs. Though he did not openly advocate the creation of a separate Andhra province, it was clear from his article that Andhras could hope to better their position only in a separate province of their own.

Just two months before the publication of these articles, *Deshabhimani*, an Anglo-Telugu weekly of Guntur, in a big editorial of three columns strongly urged a separate political conference of the Andhras in order to create solidarity among the Telugu people and to discuss their special wants.[3] The editorial in the *Deshabhimani* and articles in *The Hindu* created a great stir among the Andhras. They became apprehensive of their future in the Madras Presidency. By the end of 1911 the advocates of a separate Andhra province became numerous. In December 1911 a correspondent wrote to the *Deshabhimani* that:

The Telugu talent is fast dying out. It is the duty of the government to see that it does not become extinct ere long. It can be nurtured only when the Telugu people are placed under a separate government.[4] Within a week of the publication of this letter another correspondent, C. Seshagiri Rao made a forceful plea for the creation of a separate Andhra province. In a series of articles to *Deshabhimani*, he pointed out the importance of language in the development of a race.

Language is the vehicle of thought. A common language helps the free flow of ideas among men and unites them in a common bond of love and attachment. The growth of good literature in a language is simultaneous with the progress of the people speaking the language. But everything depends upon the environment, which is able to stimulate its growth.[5] So far as the Andhras were concerned he felt that the environment was not conducive for their development since "Madras, the capital of the Presidency, of which our Andhra country forms a part, is situated outside the skirts of the Telugu country." Further, the Andhras laboured under a double disadvantage. The British officers who ruled over them had very little knowledge of Telugu. Their subordinates, mostly non-Telugus, had very little acquaintance with the Telugu language or the people. As such, the grievances of the Telugus were not brought to the notice of the Government.[6] He felt that:

> The Andhras cannot become a great race unless they are given opportunities which stimulate growth. So long as the Andhras are only

3. *Deshabhimani* (Guntur), 4 February, 1911.
4. Letter of N. Narayana Rao to *Deshabhimani*, 21 Dec. 1911.
5. Letter of C. Seshagiri Rao to *Deshabhimani*, 26 Dec. 1911.
6. Ibid.

one among many in the southern presidency, they cannot progress. They must have an individual existence and must make their existence felt by others. If they are to be as progressive as either Bengalies or Maharattas, they must be given the same opportunities to develop. . . . The most essential thing is to have a separate province for the Telugus and locate the capital in the Centre of the Telugu districts.[7] He concluded his letters with the hope that the Telugu journals would take up the question in right earnest and give their opinion on the matter. He also pleaded that the Conference of Krishna and Guntur Districts should discuss the question and pass a resolution to that effect.[8]

His letters had the desired effect. Important Telugu newspapers like the *Andhra Patrika* Bombay and the *Krishna Patrika* of Machilipatnam supported the demand and the movement for Andhra province gained fresh strength in 1912. *Deshabhimani* felt that mere desire would not result in the formation of a separate province. It suggested ways and means of achieving it:

It must be expressed in a way as to make the rulers feel the justice of our cause. Agitations must be started all over the land. Meetings must be held. Conferences must discuss the question in right earnest and an influential deputation consisting of representatives of the Andhra Community must wait upon the Government. We urge our District Association to pass a resolution about this necessary step and place the same for the consideration of the ensuing Krishna-Guntur Conference. We hope that the Telugu papers will not play the Rip Van Winkle and that they busy themselves less with the Imperial and World-wide politics than the immediate interest affecting the well being of the Andhra country. The Telugu papers are generally reticent about the question, either because they are not fully alive to a sense of their duty or though conscious they join with Hamlet in saying "to act or not to act, that is the question".

In this respect we have to learn a lesson from our Biharee brethren. With remarkable energy and enthusiasm, they are urging both in press and platform with a characteristic vehemence, for having for their province a separate High Court, separate University, etc. May our Andhra brethren shake off their lethargy and aspire for a rightful place in the onward march of India.[9]

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7 Ibid., 28 December, 1911.
8. Ibid., 30 December, 1911.
9. *Deshabhimani*, 24 February, 1912.

As a result of the wide discussion in the press, the subject of the formation of a separate Andhra province came up for consideration, for the first time, at the joint conference of Godavari, Krishna and Guntur districts held at Nidadavolu in May 1912 under the presidency of V. Ramadas. The resolution on the subject was ruled out of order by the President. One of the delegates to the conference, C. Narasimha Rao, felt that a subject of importance to all Andhras should not be discussed at a sectional conference. He felt that an Andhra Conference, representative of all the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency, should be convened. His suggestion was accepted by many delegates, including Konda Venkatappaiah, who afterwards became the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress. After his return to Guntur, Konda Venkatappaiah discussed the subject with other important local leaders like V. Bhavanacharyulu, U. Lakshmi Narayana, C. Seshagiri Rao and J. Gurunatham. They decided to convene an All India Conference of the Andhras. A standing committee with Konda Venkatappaiah as Secretary was formed to take the required steps in that direction. The Committee decided to hold the first Andhra Conference at Bapatla in May 1913.

Soon after the conference, a lively discussion took place in the press, both in English and Telugu, regarding the need or otherwise of a separate province. This helped to crystallize public opinion on the subject. A correspondent of the *Krishna Patrika* felt that the time had not arrived to launch an agitation for a separate Andhra province as there was mutual ill-feeling between Telugu and Tamil officials. He was afraid that the agitation for a separate Andhra province would intensify the ill-feelings. He, therefore, cautioned the Andhras, who were not united, not to provoke the Tamils who were in power. This argument was countered by another correspondent who said that if the Tamils become envious at the attempts of the Telugus to improve their position, it would only show their meanness. If the Tamils did mischief to the Andhras without provocation, the Government would certainly take serious notice of it.[10]

The *Desamatha*, a Telugu journal, discussed the question whether Andhra could be constituted as a separate province and answered in the affirmative. It felt that Andhra may not get a separate province at once, but wanted that they should persevere in their attempts for there was nothing impossible for the perservering people.[11]

The growing demand of the Andhras for a separate province of their own produced varied reactions among the Tamils. *The Hindu* did not

10. *Krishna Patrika* (Machilipatnam), 21 June, 1912.
11. *Desamatha*, 9 October, 1912.

support the movement as "there are already too many walls of separation forbidding unification among the India peoples . . ."[12] Some Tamils tried to "vulgarise the Andhra Movement by equating it to a desire for posts." A Tamil correspondent of *The Hindu* asked:

> Where will this Andhra province obtain its high officials from? Where will it get its High Court Judges and Executive Councils from if they are to have a province today? If they could get them from the existing material, will it be of the quality that now occupies those places? It will be far better for the Andhras to so improve themselves as to contribute Judges and Councillors to a large province like Madras, than to have a small province of their own.[13]

Even among the Andhras, there were some who did not cherish the prospect of having a province of their own. N. Subba Rao, who also afterwards became the General Secretary of the Indian National Congress, opposed the demand as he felt that the proposed Andhra province would be a small one, headed by a Chief Commissioner. He declared:

> I, for one, would not care to have the new province under a Chief Commissioner and I should prefer to be under the present form of Government with Governor in Council.[14]

He further felt that the creation of the Andhra province would lead to similar demands by other linguistic groups.

Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya countered the arguments of Subba Rao and declared:

> I, for one, would prefer to be under a Chief Commissioner like Sir Henry Cotton, Lieut. Governor like Sir John Hewett, Sir Anthony MacDowell or Sir James Meston, as against a Governor like Lord Landhurst or Sir Arthur Lawley.[15]

He also welcomed the creation of provinces for other linguistic groups. He felt that "the future map of India will indeed have to be recast in a measure which may very soon confound us and the geography we have learnt."[16]

The Joint Secretaries of the Standing Committee issued a circular in September 1912 listing the subjects that might be considered at the Andhra Conference. The circular contained non-controversial subjects like the starting of an English daily to promote the interest of the Andhras, establishment of a separate university for the Andhra districts, representations to the Government to lift the ban on the enlistment of the Telugus in the army,

12. Quoted by "A Non-Entity" in his letter to *The Hindu*, 24 August, 1912.
13. Letter of "Viswainitra" to *The Hindu*, 29 August, 1912.
14. Letter of N. Subba Rao to *The Hindu*, 4 February, 1913.
15. Letter of Dr. B.Pattabhi Sitaramayya to *The Hindu*, 26 February, 1913.
16. Ibid.

etc. The circular did not make any reference to the creation of a separate Andhra province.

Bapatla Conference, 1913

The First Andhra Conference was held at Bapatla on 26 May, 1913, under the presidentship of B. N. Sarma, then a member of the Legislative Council of Madras. About 2,000 visitors and 800 delegates from the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency attended the Conference.[17] Delegates from Hyderabad, Warangal and Nagpur were also present. In his presidential address, Sarma examined the question of formation of a separate Andhra province and felt that, at least for the time being, the agitation might do more harm than good.

There was a heated discussion on the question of formation of the separate Andhra province, both in the subject committee and in the open conference. At the open session, V. Ramadas proposed a resolution demanding the formation of a separate Andhra province. This was opposed by stalwarts like N. Subba Rao, M. Adinarayanaiah and M. Ramchandra Rao. They felt that the demand for separate Andhra was premature. After a heated discussion lasting for about three hours, the resolution was amended to the effect that the subject might be taken up for consideration at the next conference. The amended resolution disappointed many delegates from Krishna and Guntur districts, who were carrying on a relentless propaganda for the separate province for two years.

The conference revealed that the delegates from Rayalaseema (western districts) and northern districts of Ganjam and Visakhapatnam were not so keen on the formation of a separate province. So a committee consisting of Konda Venkatappaiah, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, M. Krishna Rao, Editor, *Krishna Patrika* and V. Suryanarayana Rao toured Rayalaseema and addressed public meetings at Nandyal, Gooty, Anantapur, Bellary, Chittoor, Cuddapah and Nellore. They gained the impression that the people of the region were favourably inclined towards the formation of a separate province. Only the Tamil speaking lawyers of Chittoor were against it as they did not like to cut off their connections with Madras city. Konda Venkatappaiah toured the northern districts and addressed public meetings at Berhampur, Visakhapatnam, Kakinada and Rajahmundry.

After the first Andhra Conference at Bapatla, the subject of the formation of the separate Andhra province came for consideration at several district conferences. At the district conference of Visakhapatnam, the President, M. Suryanarayana of Vijayanagaram, spoke in favour of it.

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17. *The Hindu*, 28 May, 1913.

But Gade Raghava Rao of Berhampur, who presided over the Nellore district conference, advocated a more cautious policy. The reason for this was obvious. Raghava Rao was anxious about the future of his native town Berhampur in case a separate Andhra province became an accomplished fact. Here it may be stated that even before the formation of Andhra province, Berhampur was detached from the Madras Presidency and included in Orissa when it was made a separate province in 1936 on the grounds that South Orissa lacked a suitable headquarters town, even though the town had a Telugu majority.

The Second Andhra Conference (hereafter it came to be known as Andhra Mahasabha) took place at Vijayawada on 11 April, 1914, under the presidentship of N. Subba Rao. The presidential address caused much disappointment and dissatisfaction among the delegates, but M. Suryanarayana moved a resolution on the need to constitute the Telugu speaking areas of the Madras Presidency into a separate province. V. Ramadas supported the resolution and it was passed by an overwhelming majority.

In May 1914, the Visakhapatnam district conference was held under the presidentship of B. Venkatapathi Raju. Raju, in his address, observed:

> I am glad to notice at the Andhra Conference almost all leading gentlemen have agreed that the cry for a separate province is desirable and it ought to be taken up as an ideal to be attained. When once it is admitted that it is an ideal, postponement of agitation for attaining the same is foolish.[18]

The Guntur district conference, which was held in June 1914, passed a similar resolution demanding the creation of a separate Andhra province. By the end of 1914, public opinion in Andhra was overwhelmingly in favour of a separate province.

Third Session of Andhra Mahasabha

The Third Conference, which was held at Visakhapatnam in May 1915 under the Presidentship of Raja Panugand Ramarayaningar, not only reiterated the demand for a separate Andhra, but also demanded that the mother-tongue be made the medium of instruction in secondary schools. The Tamil daily of Madras, *Swadesamitran*, welcomed the resolution on the medium of instruction in secondary schools. The Andhra Mahasabha conferences popularised the habit of addressing public meetings in Telugu.

The Fourth Conference of the Andhra Mahasabha was held at Kakinada in May 1916, with Mocherla Ramchandra Rao as President. Ramchandra Rao, like Nyapati Subba Rao, was not an ardent supporter of a separate

18. *The Madras Mail* (Madras), 19 May, 1914.

Andhra province. When C. V. Narasimha Raju of Visakhapatnam moved a resolution that "it is necessary and reasonable to constitute all the Telugu districts into a separate province with powers and complete autonomy", there was an amendment that the Government should be asked to create a separate province as early as possible after the War. The amendment was accepted.[19] A. S. Krishna Rao of Nellore and Nemali Pattabhi Rama Rao of Cuddapah opposed the original resolution, while Gade Raghava Rao of Berhampur, who three years earlier as the President of Nellore District Conference opposed the formation of the separate Andhra province, now supported the resolution in favour of the province. The delegate from Anantapur, A. Sankara Rao, also supported the resolution.

The Fifth Session of the Andhra Mahasabha was held at Nellore on 1 June, 1917, with Konda Venkatappaiah as President. The session proved to be stormy and brought to light the differences between the Circars and Rayalaseema. From the beginning of the Andhra Movement, the people of Nellore an Rayalaseema were lukewarm in their support for a separate province. The people of Nellore, because of their proximity to Madras city, did not like to sever their connections with the metropolis, which they felt would remain outside the territorial limits of Andhra. In Rayalaseema, the leadership was in the hands of Tamils domiciled in the areas, like Kesava Pillai of Gooty in Anantapur district and Ekambara Aiyer of Nandyal in Kurnool District. They did not like the creation of a separate Andhra province as it would affect the domination of the Tamils in Telugu districts. The Telugu leaders of Rayalaseema, like Harisarvothama Rao of Kurnool, supported the creation of a separate Andhra province.

In the Fifth Conference, the opponents of separate Andhra were determined to defect the resolution on the Andhra province. Of the 740 delegates, more than 480 belonged to Nellore district.[20] Fearing that the resolution would be defeated by the sheer numbers of one district, Harisarvothama Rao proposed that voting should be district wise, one vote being given to each district. The proposition was carried out as by the time of voting a large number of fresh delegates from the Circars joined the conference. The opponents of a separate province felt frustrated and met separately at the town hall and passed a resolution that a separate province would be desirable only if Madras city was included in it. B. N. Sarma and other leaders succeeded in removing the misunderstanding of the dissidents and they participated in the next day's session. The resolution requesting the Government to create a separate Andhra province was passed even though some prominent Nellore leaders like A. S. Krishna Rao voted against it. The

19. *The Hindu*, (Madras), 11 May, 1916.
20. *The Hindu*, (Madras), 2 June, 1917.

amendment of the dissidents for the inclusion of Madras city in the Andhra province as its capital was rejected. But the Circars leaders realised that the support of Rayalaseema for the separate Andhra province could not be taken for granted, and that there was an urgent need to remove the fears and misunderstandings of the people of that area.

From 1916 onwards, issues of national importance like a united Congress, co-operation between the Congress and Muslim League and the demand for Home Rule came to the forefront. The Andhra leaders diverted their attention to those issues and demand for a separate Andhra province receded into the background.

Formation of Separate Andhra Congress Circle

Ever since the formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885, Andhra Congress leaders began to take active part in its deliberations. P. Anandacharyulu became the President of the Congress as early as 1891. Nyapati Subba Rao acted as the General Secretary for some years. Other Andhra leaders who used to take lively interest in Congress deliberations were V. V. Jogaiah, Gade Raghava Rao and A. P. Patro of Berhampur, B. N. Sarma of Visakhapatnam, Nyapati Subba Rao of Rajahmundry, Mocherla Ramchandra Rao and K. V. Reddi Nayudu of Eluru, A. S. Krishna Rao of Nellore, Kesava Pillai of Gooty and A. C. Parthasarathi Naidu of Madras.

When the Congress session was held at Madras in 1914, as many as 256 delegates from Andhra attended it. But no Andhra could find a place in the Working Committee. Moreover, there was strong opposition from the Tamils to the discussion of the Andhra province question in the session. This convinced the Andhras of the need to reduce the influence of the Tamils in Andhra affairs. One N. Ekambara Aiyer of Nandyal carried on the propaganda that the question of the formation of Andhra province should not be left for the decision of Andhra alone, but it should be taken up for consideration at the Madras Provincial Conference to be held at Nellore in May 1915. The Provincial Conference, however, did not take up the subject into consideration.

The activities of the Tamils convinced the Andhra leaders of the urgent need to establish a separate Telugu unit or circle of Congress so as to give the Telugus freedom of action in their own affairs. The Andhra leaders began to demand the creation of an Andhra circle with the Telugu districts of Madras Presidency. They cited the instances of provinces like Bihar and Orissa, which had more than one Congress circle.

The Andhra leaders intensified their efforts for securing a separate Congress circle, since they felt that in course of time, the new Telugu Congress could be used as a means to achieve a separate Andhra province.

The fourth session of the Andhra Mahasabha resolved to bring the matter before the All India Congress Committee. The Congress workers of Sindh also wanted a separate circle. So the AICC at its meeting held at Lucknow on 30 December, 1916, referred the question of creating a separate circle for Andhra and Sindh to the Provincial Congress Committees of Madras and Bombay, respectively. The Madras Provincial Congress Committee, which was not favourably inclined towards Andhra, delayed giving its opinion.

Meanwhile, other developments took place which hastened the formation of the Andhra Congress circle. A pamphlet called "Re-organisation of Indian Provinces" was widely distributed among the Congressmen all over India. The authors of the pamphlet, Konda Venkatappaiah and Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, stated the Andhra case clearly and convincingly. The Home Rule League, which became very popular in 1916, also advocated the formation of linguistic provinces. In spite of this, Mrs. Besant opposed the proposals of the Andhras at the Congress session of 1916. The subject provoked heated discussions in the Subjects Committee. Mahatma Gandhi felt that the question might be taken after the implementation of reforms. Tamil leaders also strongly supported the issue as they felt that linguistic provinces were essential for the successful working of democracy in India. Dr. Pattabhi also made a convincing case for a separate Andhra circle with the 11 Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency. On 22 January, 1918, the new Andhra Congress Circle came into existence with Nyapati Subba Rao as President and Konda Venkatappaiah as Secretary. This was the first victory for the sponsors of the Andhra Movement.

Home Rule Movement

For nine years after the Surat split, the Congress was dominated by the moderates who were content with the Morley-Minto Reforms. But within a short time, the Reforms of 1909 proved to be unsatisfactory in their actual working. The power of the autocracy continued unabated behind the enlarged Legislative Councils. The dangers inherent in the separate electorates granted to the Muslims also became evident. But when the First World War broke out in 1914, the Indians rallied around the British and never tried to create an opportunity out of England's difficulties.

In the years between the death of Gopalakrishna Gokhale in 1915 and the rise of Gandhiji to power in 1920, two associations bearing the same name—The Home Rule League—were founded for intensifying the National Movement. These were the two Home Rule Leagues founded in 1916, one by Mrs. Annie Besant and the other by Tilak.

Tilak, who was released from prison in 1914, was not his former self. He was content with Home Rule instead of complete Swaraj. On 28 April,

1916, he established the Home Rule League and defined its objective as "attaining self-government within the British Empire by all constitutional means and to educate and organize public opinion in the country towards the attainment of the same."[21]

Simultaneously with Tilak, Annie Besant, an Irish lady and the President of the Theosophical Society which had its headquarters at Adhat (Madras), formed another Home Rule League in Madras in September 1916. Both the leaders tried to bring about Congress unity and their efforts bore fruit in December 1916, when Tilak and the extremists joined the Congress. The year 1916 also witnessed the complete co-operation between the Congress and the Muslim League.

Besant decided to launch a Home Rule Movement as she felt that agitation was "the only way of getting rid of the abysmal ignorance in England of Indian Affairs". In order to educate the public on all matters connected with Home Rule, she started an English weekly, *Common Weal*, at Madras in January 1914. In July of the same year, she acquired the English daily the *Madras Standard* and renamed it *New India*. With the help of these two papers she tried to popularise the Doctrine of Self-Government.

The Home Rule Movement of Besant became very popular in Madras city and, to some extent, in Andhra also. To popularise the movement in the Telugu districts a separate branch of the League was formed with Gadicherla Harisarvothama Rao as Secretary. Branches of the League were established in many important towns like Guntur, Vijayawada, Machilipatnam and Kakinada. Many prominent Andhra leaders like Konda Venkatappaiah, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, K. Nageswara Rao and K. V. Reddy Naidu joined the league. Harisarvothama Rao issued many pamphlets, like the Ideal of Home Rule, explaining the various aspects of the movement.

After the Lucknow session of the Congress, Besant undertook a tour of Andhra and addressed meetings at Kakinada, Rajahmundry and Eluru. Mocherla Ramchandra Rao and other moderate leaders of Eluru took a leading part in making Besant's tour of Andhra a success. Home Rule became a central topic of discussion at various District Conferences. Resolutions in favour of Home Rule were passed at the District Conferences of Ganjam, Visakhapatnam, Godavari, Krishna and Guntur. The subject came up for discussion at the Fifth Conference of the Andhra Mahasabha at Nellore. Konda Venkatappaiah, in his presidential address, besides emphasising the need for the early formation of Andhra province, stressed the importance of self-government. By the middle of 1917, there were as many as 52 branches of the Home Rule League in Andhra.

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21. *Jog, Lokmanya Bal Gangadhar Tilak* (Bombay), p. 143.

As an auxiliary to the Home Rule Movement, Besant started a National Educational Scheme. Madanapalle in Chittoor District became an important centre of her educational activity. At that place, she established the National College (the present Besant Theosophical College) in May 1916 with J. H. Cousins, an Irish journalist, as principal.

To curb the growing popularity of the Home Rule Movement, the Madras Government unleashed repression. It issued a circular prohibiting students from attending political meetings. Besant was externed from Bombay, the Central Provinces and Bihar, but she continued her attacks on the Government and championed Home Rule in *New India*. On 16 June, 1917, the Madras Government issued an order forbidding Besant and two of her colleagues in the Home Rule, B. P. Wadia (Assistant Editor of *New India*) and George S. Arundale, from participating in politics and interned them at Ooty.

The arrest of Besant and her colleagues infuriated the public of India. Meetings were held all over the country condemning the action of the Government. The Home Rule agitation was intensified, especially in the Krishna and Chittoor districts. At Machilipatnam, the staff of the Andhra Jatiya Kalasala worked enthusiastically for it. At Madanapalle, the staff of National College conducted "national" classes to educate the public on self-government. The Telugu press, especially *Deshabhimani* and *Deshamatha*, protested strongly against the internment. In the city of Madras, a new body called "The indignant group of the Home Rule League" was formed. The members of that body wore a Besant-pendant as a badge and took a pledge to make any sacrifice for the country.

The Government, while continuing the policy of repression, tried to weaken the movement by following the policy of "Divide and Rule". It encouraged the non-Brahmins to dissociate themselves from the movement.

The All India Congress Committee and the Council of Muslim League worked out a plan for securing the release of Besant and her colleagues by launching "Passive Resistance", which had been successfully tried by Gandhiji in Champaran to remove the grievances of the indigo cultivators. The activities of the Home Rule League had adversely affected the collection of war funds by the Government. This development as well as the threat of "Passive Resistance" convinced the Government that it was not expedient to continue Besant's internment. Moreover, the Secretary of State for India, E. S. Montagu, felt that internment of Besant was inconsistent with the new policy he announced on 20 August, 1917, in the House of Commons. So Besant and her colleagues were released on 17 September, 1917. With this, the Home Rule Movement practically came to an end.

Montagu's Announcement of 20 August, 1917

The growing political discontent in India convinced the Government circles in Britain that the time had come to appease the public opinion in India by announcing reforms. This became all the more necessary in view of the great sacrifices made by India in the form of men and material to the cause of Britain in the Great War. Montagu felt that the Government of India was "too wooden, too iron, too inelastic, too antediluvian to be of any use for the modem purposes". So when he became Secretary of State for India, he announced a change of policy in his famous declaration of 20 August, 1917. In the House of Commons he stated that:

> The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire. They have decided that substantial steps in this direction should be taken as soon as possible, and that it is of the highest importance, as a preliminary to considering what these steps should be that there should be a free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at Home and in India. His Majesty's Government have accordingly decided, with His Majesty's approval, that I should accept the Viceroy's invitation to proceed to India to discuss these matters with the Viceroy, the views of local governments, and to receive with him the suggestions of representative bodies and others.[22]

Montagu's declaration roused new hopes in the minds of the Andhras. They felt that the time had come to work unitedly to achieve their aspiration for a separate Andhra province. By the close of 1917, the opinion in all Telugu districts crystallised in favour of an Andhra province.

In view of the impending constitutional reforms in India, a special session of the Andhra Mahasabha was held at Vijayawada with Ayyadevara Kaleswara Rao as the Chairman of the Reception Committee and C. V. S. Narasimha Raju as President. More than 1,200 delegates attended the conference. All the delegates were unanimous about the need for the early formation of Andhra Province. Even N. Subba Rao was in favour of a separate province. He urged the Mahasabha to send a deputation to Montagu on his visit to Madras to impress upon him the need for the early formation of Andhra province.

By another resolution, the Mahasabha demanded reservation of seats to non-Brahmins in the Madras Legislative Council. This was done to remove

22. Montford Report, para 6.

the suspicions entertained by many non-Brahmins that Home Rule would benefit only the Brahmins. In this connection, it may be stated that following Montagu's announcement, the Government of Madras encouraged the non-Brahmins to stage more demonstrations against the Home Rule. As a result, the relations between Brahmins and non-Brahmins in Andhra, which were hitherto harmonious, became somewhat strained.

Subsequent to the Andhra Mahasabha conference, the non-Brahmins who favoured Home Rule met at Vijayawada under the presidentship of Ponaka Pattabhirama Reddy of Nellore district and passed resolutions which were identical with those passed at the special session of the Andhra Mahasabha. Tripuraneni Ramaswamy Choudhary, Kesava Pillai, Ranganatha Mudaliar and other non-Brahmin leaders took part in the proceedings.

Deputation to Montagu

In his declaration of 20 August, 1917, Montagu made it clear that one purpose of his visit to India was to receive the suggestions of the representative bodies and others regarding constitutional reforms in India. But the Government of Madras declined permission to the Andhra Mahasabha and the District Association of Godavari and Krishna to wait in deputation to Montagu. This infuriated the Andhra public and they sent a large number of telegrams to Montagu protesting the action of the Madras Government. Ultimately, the Government yielded and on 20 December, 1917, a 27 member Andhra delegation, under the leadership of Nyapati Subba Rao, met the Secretary of State and the Viceroy.[23] It requested the Secretary of State to concede the Andhra demand for the immediate formation of Andhra province from the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency. Montagu promised to give due consideration to the Andhra demand.

The year 1917 closed with the annual session of the Congress at Calcutta, with Annie Besant as President. It was in this session that the Andhra demand for a separate Congress circle was conceded.

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23. The 27 members were:
(1) Nyapati Subba Rao, (2) Mocherla Ramachandra Rao, (3) K. R. V. Krishna Rao, (4) B. N. Sarma, (5) A. Suryanarayana Rao, (6) Konda Venkatappaiah, (7) Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao, (8) Kopalle Hanumantha Rao, (9) Bogaraju Pattabhi Sitararhayya, (10) C. V. S. Narasimha Raju, (11) Gadecherla Harisarvothama Rao, (12) Mutnuri Krishna Rao, (13) Gade Raghava Rao, (14) Ch. Latcha Rao, (15) Nemali Pattabhi Rama Rao, (16) Ch. Seshayya, (17) Oruganti Venkatarangayya, (18) P. Chenchayya, (19) V. Pitchayya, (20) II. Sankara Rao, (21) N. Venkata Subbaiah, (22) S. V. Narasimha Rao, (23) Ponaka Pattabhirama Raddy, (24) C. Bhaskara Reddy, (25) P. V. Bussa Reddy, (26) B. Ramanna, (27) Appayya.

B. N. Sarma's Resolution

On 6 February, 1918, B. N. Sarma moved a resolution in the Imperial Legislature Council recommending:

> To the Governor-General in Council (a) redistribution of provincial areas and the constitution of the provinces where necessary to secure complete success for self-governing institutions in British India; (b) the re-arrangement of provincial areas on a language basis wherever and to the extent possible, especially where the people speaking a distinct language, and sufficiently large in numbers desire such a change.

The resolution was not well received. The members from Madras like K. V. Rangaswami Ayyangar supported it. But it did not receive the support of even non-official members like M. A. Jinnah and V. S. Srinivasa Sastri. Jinnah felt that Sarma wanted to gain cheap popularity among his people by moving the resolution. Srinivasa Sastri conceded that Andhra had a strong case for a separate province, but he objected to the resolution as it wanted a general reconstitution of provinces of the whole country. Surendranath Banerjee felt that the time was not opportune to form the linguistic provinces. Tej Bahadur Sapru said that he would have supported the resolution if it had been confined only to Andhra province.

The rejection of Sarma's resolution perturbed the Andhras. The District Conferences of Krishna and Visakhapatnam felt the need to intensify the agitation for linguistic provinces. Sri Vikrama Dev Varma, the Maharaja of Jeypore, who presided over the Visakhapatnam Conference, in the course of his address observed:

> Though I am not an Andhra by birth the Andhra country and the Andhra language are like foster mothers to me. The Andhra movement has, my warmest and most cordial sympathy. The recognition by the Indian National Congress of the claims of the Andhra Desa to a separate provincial organisation is in itself a happy augury for the future.[24]

N. Pattabhirama Rao, who had previously opposed the demand for the formation of a separate Andhra province, changed his view and supported the formation of a separate Andhra province while presiding over the Cuddapah District Conference in 1918.

Reforms of 1919

The Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were announced in July 1918. The Reforms did not make any change in the Government of India or in the powers of the Secretary of State. In the provinces dyarchy was introduced. The executive was divided into two halves—the Reserved Department and the Transferred Department. The "Reserved subjects" were to be

24. *The Hindu* (Madras), 16 May, 1918.

administered by the Governor with no responsibility to the Legislature, the Governor being responsible only to the Central Government and Parliament. The "Transferred subjects" were placed in charge of the Governors acting with the Ministers selected by him from the elected members of the Provincial Legislature.

Public meetings were held in different Andhra towns like Vijayawada and Cuddapah to express the dissatisfaction and disappointment of the people. The Vijayawada meeting felt that the reforms did not take any real step towards responsible government. A similar resolution was passed at the special District Conferences of Ganjam, Krishna, Nellore and Chittoor.

A special session of the Andhra Mahasabha was held at Guntur on 17 August, 1918, under the presidentship of Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao. It was attended by important political leaders like B. N. Sarma, B. Venkatapathi Raju, T. Prakasam, B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, G. Harisarvothama Rao, Kaleswara Rao and V. Ramadas. Several members wanted the total rejection of the reforms. But B. N. Sarma wanted the acceptance of the reforms with certain modifications and additions. After a heated discussion, the conference passed a resolution for implementing the reforms on the basis of the Congress-League scheme, which provided for the supremacy of the Indian Legislature in purely domestic concerns. The resolution was moved by B. N. Sarma and seconded by T. Prakasam.

The Telugu press criticised the reforms since they did not bring about any real transfer of powers into the hands of the Indians. The *Krishna Patrika*, in its editorial of 13 July, 1918, observed that:

> A mountain has been dug and a rat has been caught. What the country has so long demanded is one and what has been offered is another. We prayed for the control of the Imperial Legislative Assembly over finance, our prayer is not granted. It looks as if some nominal reforms are offered to wipe away our tears, and the aspirations of the people have not been considered with due regard. Changes have been most admirably indicated. One cannot help admiring their diplomatic skill. All power appears to be given with the right hand, and taken away with the left. The machine has been fit with a number of wheels, but each winding backwards.

The Congress met at a special session in Bombay on 28–29 August, 1918, under the presidentship of Hasan Imam to consider the reforms. It expressed its dissatisfaction and suggested many modifications. Further, it decided to send a deputation to England to place its views before the Parliamentary Joint Committee. It was on the issue of the Mont-Ford Reforms that the moderates and extremists parted company for ever. The moderates, under the presidentship of Surendranath Banerjee, constituted themselves as a separate body known as the Indian National Liberal Federation.

The Government continued its policy of repression. Thousands of people were arrested on mere suspicion. Among those arrested was Darsi Chenchayya, who went to the U.S. for higher studies and joined the Gadhar party for some time.

The First World War came to an end on 11 November, 1918. The principle of self-determination for all nations, proclaimed by President Wilson of U.S., caught the imagination of the people all over the world. Indian political leaders became anxious to know how far England would be prepared to extend the principle of self-determination to India. It was in this atmosphere that the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee met at Vijayawada on 8 December, 1918. It felt that the next session of the Congress should be held at London and proposed to the Government to nominate Tilak as one of the delegates to the Peace Conference.[25]

The annual session of the Congress was held at Delhi under the presidency of Madan Mohan Malaviya. It suggested various modifications to the Mont-Ford Reforms and wanted that India should be represented at the Versailles Peace Conference. It nominated Tilak, Gandhiji and Hasan Imam as representatives. Further, it resolved to send a deputation to England to present India's case.

25. *The Hindu* (Madras), 10 December, 1918.

6
ANDHRA AND THE INDIAN NATIONAL MOVEMENT

Advent of Gandhiji

The year 1919 marked an important landmark in the freedom struggle of our country. It saw the entry of Mahatma Gandhi into the arena of Indian politics and he dominated the political scene till the country became free in 1947. Gandhiji was the right kind of leader the country needed when the Government was arming itself with extraordinary powers to curb the rising tide of Indian Nationalism.

Rowlatt Act

In 1919, the Government passed the Rowlatt Act, which gave the Executive special powers to deport individuals, to muzzle the press and to set up tribunals to try political offenders. These repressive measures provoked criticism from all over the country. The Telugu press, especially *Andhra Patrika* and *Krishna Patrika*, protested vehemently against the Act. The latter journal felt that the Government of India was trying to cut at the root of the fundamental rights of man. It was, however, Gandhiji's reaction to the Rowlatt Act that completely changed the political situation in the country. When Gandhiji's appeal to the Viceroy to withhold the consent to the bill was ignored, he came to the fore and started the Satyagraha movement as a challenge to the Government. He asked the country to observe 6 April, 1919, as a day of fasting, prayer and national humiliation. The people were asked to disobey the law by non-violent methods.

Andhra responded enthusiastically to Gandhiji's call of Satyagraha. In many towns, like Visakhapatnam, Rajahmundry, Narasapur, Eluru, Vijayawada, Guntur, Nellore and Chittoor, 6 April was observed as a day of prayer and fasting. The ryots of Vijayawada taluka met at Kolavennu to protest against the Act. Though the day passed off peacefully in Andhra, it let to mass demonstrations, strikes and riots in many parts of the country. In Punjab, there were disturbances in Gujranwala and Amritsar. The Punjab

Government adopted a policy of stern repression. The Lt. Governor Michael O'Dwyer was determined to teach a lesson to the Punjabis and keep the province free from political agitations.

Jallianwala Bagh Massacre

On 8 April, 1919, prohibitory orders were served on Gandhiji not to enter Delhi or Punjab. Matters came to a crisis on 13 April, 1919, when General Dyer ordered the troops to open fire on 20,000 people who assembled at Jallianwala Bagh at Amritsar in a prohibited meeting. As the military had blocked the only entrance to the Bagh, the crowd had no way of escape. According to official figures, 400 people were killed. Many more would have been killed if the ammunition had not been exhausted.

The Punjab atrocities sent a wave of horror throughout the country. As a protest against this gruesome incident, poet Rabindranath Tagore surrendered to the Government his title of Knighthood. The District Conferences of Ganjam, Godavari and Krishna condemned the massacre. At the Ganjam Conference, the question of the recall of Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy, came up for consideration.

One important outcome of the people's reaction to the martial law regime in Punjab was the demand for a declaration of fundamental rights. T. Prakasam, while presiding over the Nellore District Conference in September 1919, made a pointed reference to the declaration of fundamental rights.

Khilafat Movement

After the end of the First World War, the Indian Muslims were very agitated about the fate of Turkey, which had joined Germany and fought against England and its allies. The empire of Turkey was dismembered. The humiliation inflicted on the Turkish Sultan, who was the spiritual head (Khaliph) of the Islamic world, shocked the religious sentiments of the Indian Muslims. They expressed their resentment against England by starting a movement known as the Khilafat Movement, under the leadership of Shoukat Ali and Mohammad Ali (Ali brothers). Gandhi joined the Movement and expressed his sympathy with the Muslims. He presided over the Islamic Conference at Delhi on 24 November, 1919. At that conference, he expounded for the first time his technique of non-violent non-cooperation.

The annual session of the Congress for the year 1919 was held at Amritsar, under the presidentship of Motilal Nehru. By that time, the Mont-Ford Reforms were passed into law and all the political prisoners were released so as to create a favourable atmosphere for the reception of the Reforms. C. R. Das and Tilak felt the Reforms were inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing and were for their rejection. Gandhiji and Malaviya wanted to give them a fair trial. Ultimately, a compromise was

arrived at. A resolution was passed expressing the opinion that the Reforms Act was inadequate, unsatisfactory and disappointing, but at the same time it urged the Parliament to take early steps to establish full, responsible government in India, in accordance with the principle of self determination.

Non-Cooperation Movement

The Government of India Act, 1919, was passed by the Parliament to give effect to the Mont-Ford Reforms. The Act left many matters like the delimitation of constituencies, allocation of seats to different communities and districts, etc., to the discretion of the Government of India. The elections to the legislature under the new Act were to take place in November 1920. So the Andhras became anxious to safeguard their interests. The Standing Committee of the Andhra Mahasabha and the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee held meetings in January and February 1920, respectively. They proposed to the Government of India, that (1) The Telugu districts should be allotted not less than one half of the total number of elected seats, (2) Of the two seats assigned to the University of Madras, one should be reserved to the northern district and (3) Of the four seats on the Council of State allotted to the Madras Presidency, two should be reserved for the Telugu districts.

In September 1920, the Special Session of the Congress was held at Calcutta. Many prominent Andhras like Konda Venkatappaiah, Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, A. Kaleswara Rao and Peta Bapayya attended it. In that session, Gandhiji's resolution advocating non-violent non-cooperation was accepted by an overwhelming majority. The programme of non-cooperation, among other items, included the renunciation of all government titles, the boycott of legislatures, law courts, and Government schools and colleges. Konda Venkatappaiah was among the 30 Andhra delegates who opposed it. But he abided by the resolution and resigned his membership of the Madras Legislature.

As a result of this resolution, the political situation in the country changed. Many persons withdrew their candidature to the legislatures and other elected bodies. Many meetings were held to boycott the elections to be held in November. At Rajahmundry, a meeting was held on 28 September requesting the graduate voters not to exercise their franchise. The merchants of that place also decided not to exercise their franchise. Konda Venkatappaiah toured several districts to see that the elections were boycotted. As a result of this propaganda very few people voted in the election. In Guntur, only 15 per cent of votes were polled. In Rajahmundry, out of a total of 120 Muslim voters, only one, and that too a government servant, took part in the voting. At Chittoor, 135 out of 534 and in Greamspet (Rural) Constituency 60 out of 500 recorded their votes.[1]

1. *The Hindu* (Madras), 2 December, 1920.

As a result of the Congress boycott of elections, the Justice Party, which was formed to protect the interests of the non-Brahmins, came out successful. It won 63 out of 98 elected seats of the Madras Legislative Assembly. The first Justice Party ministry was formed on 17 December, 1920, with Subbarayulu Reddiar as Chief Minister. The other ministers were P. Ramarayaningar, the Raja of Panagal and K. V. Reddi Naidu of Eluru.

In December 1920, the annual session of the Congress was held at Nagpur under the presidentship of C. Vijayaraghavachariar. At this session, the creed of the Congress was changed. It laid down that "the object of the Congress is the attainment of Swaraj by all legitimate and peaceful means" instead of "by constitutional means", the phrase previously in use. Gandhiji promised to bring Swaraj within a year through non-cooperation. Andhra enthusiastically responded to the call of Gandhiji. Guntur district took a leading part in the Non-Cooperation Movement by organising the "no-tax" campaign at Pedanandipadu, Forest Satyagraha at Palnadu and Chirala-Perala Satyagraha.

Non-Cooperation Movement in Andhra

"The years 1921–31 constitute a most glorious and heroic chapter in the history of the freedom struggle in Andhra." During these years, the Andhras followed Gandhiji's leadership meticulously and made splendid sacrifices for the freedom of the country. Inspired leadership was provided by eminent men like Desabhakta Konda Venkatappaiah, Andhra Ratna Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya, Andhra Kesari Tanguturi Prakasam, Desoddaraka Kasinathuni Nageswara Rao, Dr. Bhogaraju Pattabhi Sitaramayya, etc.

AICC Session at Vijayawada, April 1921

The All India Congress Committee met at Vijayawada on 31 March and 1 April, 1921. This session was an important event in the history of modern Andhra. Thousands of people from all over the Telugu districts attended this session to have *darshan* of important national leaders like Mahatma Gandhi, Motilal Nehru, Chitta Ranjan Das, Mohammad Ali, Shoukat Ali, etc. At this session, it was decided to collect rupees one crore for Tilak Swaraj Fund. This session is also notable from another point of view. It was at this session that Pingali Venkaiah designed the tri-colour flag for the Congress. Gandhiji accepted it with a slight modification. Subsequently the flag with other modifications became the National Flag of our country.

After the AICC, session Mahatma Gandhi undertook the tour of the Coastal Andhra districts and addressed meetings at Kakinada, Rajahmundry, Eluru, Machilipatnam, Chirala, Nellore and other places. His tour created a great impact on all people, especially women, who had till then not taken any interest in public affairs. Some of the women like Duvvuru Subbamma,

Ponaka Kanakamma, Unnava Lakhsmibayamma, proved to be excellent orators and political organisers. As per the direction of the AICC, Andhra joined the rest of the country in boycotting the visit of the Prince of Wales. The *hartal* at Vijayawada was complete and most spontaneous.

DUGGIRALA GOPALAKRISHNAYYA AND THE CHIRALA-PERALA STRUGGLE

Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya was bom on 2 June, 1889, in Penugranchiprolu village of the Nandigama taluka of the Krishna district. He lost his mother, Sitamma, when he was only three days old. Three years later, his father, Kodandarama Swamy, died. The young orphan was brought up by his paternal uncle, Sivaramayya. He was educated at Kuchinipudi and Guntur.

During the years 1905–1911, the Vandemataram movement gained momentum in Andhra. Like many other young students of Coastal Andhra, Gopalakrishnayya was also drawn into the movement. In 1909 he participated in the Second Andhra Students Conference at Machilipatnam.

After passing the matriculation examination, he worked for few months as a clerk in the Taluka office at Bapatla. He resigned from that post and worked as a teacher in the Mission School at Guntur. In 1911, he left for England for higher studies.

Gopalakrishnayya joined the University of Edinburgh and received his M.A. (Hons.) degree in Economics in 1916. During his stay in England, he became the Secretary of the Edinburgh Indian Association. He came into contact with Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswamy and from him learnt a great deal about Indian art, literature and philosophy. In 1915, when Gandhiji visited England, Dr. Coomaraswamy took Gopalakrishnayya to London and introduced him to Gandhiji as "the coming man of your country".[2]

After his return to India, Gopalakrishnayya joined as Professor of History and Economics in the Government Training College at Rajahmundry. He worked there for nine months only. In 1918, he joined the Andhra Jatiya Kalasala at Machilipatnam as its Vice-Principal, but stayed there for about eight months only. As he was dissatisfied with the educational system at both the institutions, he started an association called Andhra Vidyapeetha Goshthi near Chirala.

Chirala-Perala Struggle

One of the glorious episodes in the Freedom Movement was the Chirala-Perala Struggle. Chirala and Perala are two neighbouring villages in Bapatla Taluk of Prakasam district. Their combined population, according to the 1921

2. G.V. Subba Rao, *Andhra Ratna Gopalakrishnayya,* Amalapram, 1967, p. 13.

census, was about 15,000. These two villages, together with the villages of Jandrapeta and Veeraraghavapeta, were constituted into an administrative unit called the Chirala Union, which realised Rs. 4,000 per annum as taxes. In 1919, the Madras Government constituted the villages of Chirala and Perala into a Municipality, while the two other villages of Jandrapeta and Veeraraghavapeta continued under the Union. The constitution of Chirala and Perala into a municipality in 1920 increased the tax burden of the people to Rs 40,000 a year, without bringing any corresponding benefits. Most of the people were weavers and petty ryots belonging to the lower income group. The people, therefore, made representations to the Government to restore the *status quo ante.*

Under the reforms of 1919, local administration became a transferred subject. This portfolio was held by the Chief Minister, Raja Ramarayaningar, belonging to the Justice Party, which was in opposition to the Congress Party. When the Chief Minister visited Chirala in February 1921, the people made a representation for revoking the Municipality. But he refused to accede to their request since the people of the area were led by a Congressman and that too a Brahmin, Duggirala Gopalakrishnayya.

When their representations proved to be of no avail, the people of Chirala, under Gopalakrishnayya's leadership, started a "no-tax" campaign and refused to pay the municipal taxes levied on them. In March 1921, 12 of those who refused to pay the taxes were arrested. They included an elderly woman. She was, perhaps, the first woman political prisoner in India.

Gopalakrishnayya organised a volunteer corps called *Ramadandu* to serve the needs of the community. On 30 March, Gopalakrishnayya proceeded to Vijayawada and met Mahatma Gandhi who came there to attend the AICC session. Mahatma Gandhi visited Chirala on 6 April and advised the people to continue the no-tax campaign peacefully and evacuate their houses, so that the Municipality would disappear automatically.

The people followed his advice literally and 13,572 villagers out of the total population of 15,326 evacuated their homes on the midnight of 25 April, 1921. The people settled on the outskirts of the village by constituting a new township called Ram Nagar. For the next 11 months, they stayed there. The people suffered untold hardships. The summer of 1921 was one of the severest. The temperature in the shade rose to 120°F. This was followed by heavy rains in July and August and 101/2" of rain fell in a few weeks.

The main problem was finance, as the exodus dislocated business. But very few people came forward with donations. In September 1921, Gopalaskrishnayya visited Berhampur to attend the Andhra Mahasabha Conference held there and also to collect funds. There he was arrested and tried for sedition and was sentenced to one-year rigorous imprisonment.

After the arrest of Gopalakrishnayya, the morale of the people was badly affected. No prominent Congressman came forward to take up the leadership. So the people had to return to their original homes.

Causes for the Failure of the Chirala Movement

The Andhra Congress leaders were jealous of Gopalakrishnayya's popularity and his work. The leaders like Konda Venkatappaiah and Pattabhi Sitaramayya did not help to sustain the movement. Secondly, after the arrest of Gopalakrishnayya in October 1921, no other leader came forward to lead the movement. Thirdly, lack of finance also contributed to the failure of the movement. For Bardoli Satyagraha, Gandhiji spent nearly 10 lakhs of rupees in 1921, whereas for the Chirala struggle, the Provincial Congress Committee had not granted even Rs. 4,000, though the people of Chirala had contributed more than Rs. 8,000 for the Tilak Swaraj fund.

Gandhiji on the Chirala Struggle

Gandhiji, in his journal *Young India*, commented on the Chirala Struggle in the following words:

> Chirala-Perala is, in fact, one village, not far from the sea, with a nice climate and containing a compact population of about 15,000. The Government has been endeavouring to impose a Municipality on the people who protested against the measure. Let us see what the Municipality meant for the people. Certainly not better sanitation, for the place was unusually well kept by the people themselves, certainly not more education for the people were non-cooperators. It meant more taxation, more interference with their liberty. This was an intolerable evil for the people.[3]

Forest Satyagraha of Palnadu

One of the important episodes in the Non-Cooperation Movement in Andhra was the Forest Satyagraha of Palnadu. Palnadu was a backward region in Guntur district. The people of that area had a number of grievances against local officials, especially those belonging to the forest department. The subordinate staff of the forest department harassed the people in a number of ways. The poor people were not allowed to enter the forests for grazing their cattle or collecting dry wood for fuel, without paying bribes. Those who refused to comply with the demands of the officials were prosecuted for violating the forest laws. In 1921, there was a severe shortage of cattle fodder due to the failure of rains. Many poor people represented to the Government to allow them to let their cattle into the forests for grazing.

3. Quoted in G. V. Subba Rao, *Andhra Ratna Gopalakrishnayya*, p. 48.

As no reply was received for their representation, the people became restive. They became receptive to the ideas of non-cooperation as they felt that it was the only way to ventilate their grievances.

At Mocherla, the important town of that region, a social boycott of all government officials was organised. Shopkeepers refused to sell their products to government officials, who were already inconvenienced as they could not get the services of washermen and barbers. The important revenue official of the area, the Deputy Tahsildar, could not get even milk for his children. On receiving the reports of the social boycott, the Collector visited the area to study the situation first hand. He was also subjected to the same social boycott. He could get neither supplies nor conveyance for himself and the Superintendent of Police. When he wanted to get his orders announced by the beat of drums, he was told that all the drums in the village and its neighbourhood were damaged. The social boycott was a hundred per cent success.

In July 1921, two well-known Congress leaders of Guntur, Unnava Laxminarayana and Vedantam Narasimhachari, visited the area to study the situation on the spot. The Collector, who was camping there at that time, issued summons to them to furnish security for good behaviour. The people took the two leaders in a grand procession to the Collector's camp, accompanied by the beating of the drums. The Collector, naturally, became furious since that very morning he could not get a single drum to get his orders announced in the village by tour tom-tom or beat of drums. The two leaders were sentenced to one year's imprisonment. Their arrest led to a seven-day *hartal* in Guntur.

With the imprisonment of Lakshminarayana and Narasimhachari, the situation in Palnadu deteriorated. The social boycott was transformed into a no-tax campaign. People began to violate forest laws and send their cattle into Reserve forests for grazing. The movement was spontaneous. The Congress leaders were unnerved at the enthusiasm of the people in violating the forest laws. When the Palnadu taluka political conference took place in August 1921, Konda Venkatappaiah felt that the no-tax campaign was unauthorised since it was not approved by the All India Congress Committee. The Congress leaders tried to dampen the enthusiasm of the people by asking them not to violate the forest laws, but continue the social boycott.

The people were in no mood to hear this advice. The no-tax campaign was intensified. Clashes between the people and the forest guards became frequent. The police, who arrived in large numbers to restore law and order, began to terrorise the people. In February 1922, matters became serious when the no-tax campaign in Pedanandipadu was at its height. The police were driven out of many villages. At the village Veldurthi, the police were besieged in the bungalow where they had encamped. With great difficulty,

the police could escape at night under the cover of darkness. In another village, Jallipalem, the people were able to get back their cattle which were impounded by the police. The situation in the villages was so serious that the Collector and Superintendent of Police visited the village the next day and arrested a number of people.

The most serious incident occurred near the village Minchalapadu, which was regarded by the Collector as "notoriously bad for illicit grazing and for violent opposition even to the visits of forest officers".[4] The leader of campaign in that area was Kannuganti Hanumanthu. On 26 February, 1922, the police and the forest officials seized 50 goats and 125 she-buffaloes, driving them to the pond at Mutkur. On the way they were attacked by a crowd of about 300 men and women and the cattle were rescued. Thereupon, the police opened fire, which resulted in the death of three persons, including Hanumanthu. The crowd dispersed after the firing. The next day the Collector and the Superintendent of Police visited the village and arrested a large number of people.

The death of their leader and the lukewarm attitude of the Congress demoralised the people. They gave up their Satyagraha and by 1 March, 1922 normalcy was restored.

No-Tax Campaign of Pedanandipadu

The no-tax campaign of Pedanandipadu firka of the Bapatla taluka of Guntur district was one of the most important episodes in the Non-Cooperation Movement in Andhra. The campaign was so successful that Lord Wellington, who was the Governor of Madras, was reported to have confessed later that it shook the very foundation of the British empire in India. The most important point to remember about this campaign was that it was not organised by the Congress. Of course, important Congress leaders of Guntur district, like Konda Venkatappaiah and Gollapudi Sitarama Sastri (later Swami Sitaram) supported the movement and helped to sustain it.

The movement was not political in origin. It arose due to certain service grievances of the village officials. The service conditions of the village officers were not improved in spite of the many representations of the village officers' association to the Board of Revenue and the Government. One of the grievances was "too little pay and too much work". Other grievances of the village officers was the reduction in the village establishment. The Government, as a measure of economy, abolished many posts as assistant *karnams,* assistant headmen, *vettis* and *mohtads*. When their grievances were not redressed, the village officers of Pedanandipadu submitted

4. Document No. 67—*The Freedom Struggle in Andhra Pradesh (Andhra),* Vol. HI, (1921–*1931*) *Ed. by* M. Venkatarangaiah (Hyderabad), 1965

resignations. As a result, the collection of land revenue came to a standstill. As the Government could not appoint substitutes and collect the revenue, its prestige suffered a serious blow.

The leader of the no-tax campaign was Parvataneni Virayya Chowdari. Though he did not have any formal education, he was noted for his integrity and sincerity. He was a born leader and the people of the area followed him implicitly. The people supported the village officers by refusing to pay taxes to the Government. When the police and other officials tried to intimidate the leaders to submission, the people organised a social boycott of all officials. The Government deputed Harris, a member of the Board of Revenue, to visit the area and defuse the situation. He tried in vain to get the village officers to withdraw their resignations by promising that all their grievances would be redressed. He realised the gravity of the situation and informed the Government that "the movement is usually referred to as non-cooperation or civil disobedience. It would more appropriately be described as attempted revolution. Its express object is to subvert the existing government." The Collector of Guntur also corroborated the same point when he reported to the Government that "the present movement is open rebellion, though for the moment non-violent."

The Government made many efforts to persuade the village officials to withdraw their resignations by promising that their hereditary rights would not be interfered with and that their service conditions would be bettered. When these attempts failed, it tried to threaten the village officers by appointing new ones in their posts. But this attempt also did not succeed. The people of the area raised a volunteer corps called *Shanti Sena*, which prevented the new recruits from joining their posts.

The Government tried to change its tactics by creating dissension among the people. It posted a Muslim Sub-Inspector in the area to dissuade the Muslims from supporting the movement. A Kamma inspector in the cooperative department was promoted as Deputy Collector to persuade the ryots, who were mostly Kammas, to pay the taxes to the Government. When these measures failed to change the situation, the Government deployed the army in the area. But military demonstration did not result in the collection of taxes. When the Government was at its wit's end, the situation was saved for it by the dissensions among the Congressmen.

From the beginning, Mahatma Gandhi looked at the movement with disfavour. But the leaders of Guntur district went ahead with the no-tax campaign, since it was a spontaneous movement of the people. When the movement was at its zenith, a section of the Andhra Congressmen, who were opposed to Konda Venkatappaiah, prevailed upon the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee to appoint a sub-committee, consisting of K. Nageswara Rao, T. Prakasam and D. Narayana Raju, to tour the area and

report on the situation prevailing there. The sub-committee was impressed with the movement, but was afraid that it may not remain non-violent if the Government applied additional force.

On 10 February, 1922, when the Guntur District Congress Committee was considering the report, Mahatma Gandhi sent a letter to Konda Venkatappaiah advising him to call off the campaign until the results of the Bardoli Satyagraha became clear. The letter of Gandhiji perturbed the Andhra Congress leaders. They knew very well that the suspension of the movement when it had achieved a near success would undermine the prestige of the Congress and also result in savage repressions by the Government. All the same, the obedient followers of the Mahatma called off the campaign, much to the chagrin of the people.

As expected, the Government unleashed a savage repression. Virayya Chowdari was forced to tender an apology on the pain of being shot dead. By the end of March 1922, the Non-Cooperation Movement in Andhra fizzled out and the authority of the British Government was as strong as ever.

Alluri Sitarama Raju and Rampa Rebellion

One of the important episodes of the freedom struggle in Andhra was the rebellion of Alluri Sitarama Raju. The rebellion, popularly known as the "Rampa Rebellion", was not launched under the auspices of the Congress. Nevertheless, this rebellion, which lasted for about two years and five months, i.e., from January 1922 to May 1924, and was confined to the agency areas of East Godavari and Visakhapatnam districts, gave more trouble to the Government than the Non-Cooperation Movement.

The leader of the rebellion, Alluri Sitarama Raju, was bom in 1897 in the village Moggallu in West Godavari district. By 1921, he came under the influence of the Non-Cooperation Movement and aimed to overthrow the British rule. He, however, did not believe in non-violence. Being a Kshatriya, he believed in war to achieve his objectives. In July 1921, he went to Chittagong and participated in the secret meeting of the Bengali revolutionaries. On his return he chose to make the Gudem hills of East Godavari district his area of operation, since the tribal people of that area suffered due to the misdeeds of the local Tahsildar, Bastian, the Muttadari System and the forest reservation policy of the Government.

The problem of Raju was how to get an adequate supply of arms and ammunition. That is why he began to attack the police stations, starting with that of Chintapalli on 22 August, 1922. Raju had two faithful lieutenants—"the Gam brothers", Gam Mallu Dora and Gam Gantam Dora. Raju extended his activities to the neighbouring areas and attacked the police stations at Krishnadevupeta, Raja Vomnangi, etc. The Government, realising the

seriousness of the situation, sent an armed police party under the command of Scott Coward and Haytes. Raju, on receiving the intelligence about the police party, ambushed it on the Damanapalli ghat, killing Scot Coward and Haytes. The police withdrew, leaving behind a great deal of ammunition.

The Government brought Malabar Special Police to resume offensive against Raju. They made a surprise attack on Raju at Peddagaddapalem on 6 December, 1922, but Raju managed to escape. For some time nothing was heard about Raju, so the Malabar Police was withdrawn. Once again, Raju resumed his activities by attacking the police station at Annavaram on 18 April, 1923. Though he could not get any ammunition there, he was given a great ovation by the people and also by the officials, like the Deputy Tahsildar and Sub-Inspector of Police. Raju got his first setback when Gam Malu Dora was captured at Nadimpalle village on 18 September, 1923. Raju's policy of attacking the police stations for ammunition did not yield results as the Government took care not to keep any ammunition in the police stations. The Government got two companies of Assam Rifles and appointed Rutherford as Special Commissioner in-charge of operations against Raju. In spite of these actions by the Government, Raju continued his activities as before. On 6 May, 1924, one of his close associates, Pericherla Suryanarayana, who was popularly known as Aggi Raju, was captured near Madderu. The next day Raju himself was captured by Jamedar Kunchu Menon. He was brought to Koyyur and shot dead. The Rampa Rebellion thus came to an end.

The Rampa Rebellion had caught the imagination of the Andhra people and they recall Raju's deeds with pride. But his contemporary Congress leaders showed no sympathy for him or his movement. They welcomed its suppression. The Congress Committee and the Andhra Mahasabha, which met for their annual session in October 1924, did not pass any resolution appreciating Raju's patriotic fervour and his noble sacrifice to the cause of the country's freedom, on the ground that there was uncertainty about his death.

On 12 February, 1922, the Congress Working Committee passed at Bardoli a resolution suspending the civil disobedience movement. As a result, there was a lull in the political activity in Andhra.

Simon Commission

On 8 November, 1927, the British Government announced the appointment of a Statutory Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir John Simon to report on the working of the reforms of 1919. As there was no Indian in the Commission, almost all the political parties decided to boycott it. The Andhra Mahasabha also decided to boycott the Commission, but the Oriyas of Berhampore and the Utkal Sammilani presented a memorandum to the Commission requesting the early formation of Orissa province.

The Municipal Councils of Tirupati, Kurnool, Vijayawada, Eluru and Srikakulam passed resolutions in favour of boycott. Even liberals like Nyapathi Subba Rao decided to boycott the Commission. On 3 February, 1928, *hartal* was observed in almost all Andhra towns.

The Government selected Guntur and Ongole as the two Andhra towns for the visit of the Commission. Prakasam, Ramadas and V. V. Jogaiah issued a joint statement exhorting the Andhras and particularly the citizens of the two towns, Ongole and Guntur, to express their resentment by boycotting the Commission. When Simon and his party halted at Vijayawada railway station on their way to Guntur, the peon of the municipality handed over to Simon a sealed envelope containing the boycott resolution passed by the Council and also a paper on which the words "Simon, Go Back" were inscribed. The Commission was greeted with black flags at Guntur and Ongole.

The Commission was scheduled to visit Madras on 26 February, 1928. The Chief Presiding Magistrate issued an order prohibiting any kind of political propaganda. Over Madras, the Congress Committee of both Andhra and Madras States had jurisdiction. The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee decided to defy the prohibitory orders, but the Madras Provincial Congress Committee decided otherwise. In spite of Madras Congress Committee's non-cooperative attitude, complete *hartal* was observed in Madras on the days of the visit of Simon Commission.

Earlier, T. Prakasam took a leading part in Madras city in conducting propaganda against the Commission. There were some disturbances and one man was killed when the police opened fire. When Prakasam decided to visit the scene of police firing along with his followers, the police tried to prevent him from moving forward. Thereupon, he exposed his chest to the police and declared, "We are determined to move on and have a look at the dead body of our comrade, shoot me if you want."[5] The police were taken aback and allowed him to proceed. For this act of bravery, Prakasam, came to be called "Andhra Kesari".

The Commission published its report in May 1930. It recommended the formation of Orissa and Sindh provinces. No wonder, it made no mention of Andhra. The Andhra leaders were busy in organising boycott and black flag demonstrations. In contrast, the Oriya leaders presented a memorandum to the Commission and got its sympathetic hearing.

After the publication of the Commission's reports, the Madras Government withdrew its objection to the amalgamation of the Oriya territories of the Presidency with the proposed Orissa province, as it entailed only a "minor adjustment of territory". With regard to the formation of Andhra province, it continued to oppose the move.

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5. Kaleswara Rao A., *Navya Andhramu*, p. 373.

Round Table Conference

After the publication of Simon's Report, the British Government convened a Round Table Conference of the political parties in India at London to draw up a new constitution for India. The Congress decided to boycott the Round Table Conference and Gandhiji began his Civil Disobedience Movement on 6 April, 1930. The first session of the Round Table Conference began in London in November 1930. Since the Congress boycotted the Conference, no Andhra attended it to plead for the creation of Andhra province. The conference conceded in principle the formation of Orissa and Sindh provinces.

Second Round Table Conference

The Second Round Table Conference began on 7 September, 1931 and Gandhiji attended it. The Andhra leaders realised their claim for a separate province had gone by default. Even then they did not take steps to remedy the situation. They pinned their hopes on Gandhiji. Pattabhi Sitaramayya and Kaleswara Rao met Gandhiji before his departure to London to plead for the case of Andhra. Gandhiji promised them Andhra province after Indian independence.

Some of the Andhra leaders like V. V. Giri, A. P. Patro, M. Ramachandra Rao, the Raja of Bobbili met Lord Lothern, Under Secretary of State for India, to include Andhra also among the new provinces to be created. They also circulated memoranda for incorporating provisions in the new constitution for creating new provinces. It is interesting to note that unlike the Andhra leaders, the Oriya leaders, under the leadership of the Maharaja of Parlakimedi, made concerted moves and succeeded in getting Orissa Province. When the Second Round Table Conference ended, Andhra province was as elusive as before. The Andhra leaders were not disheartened. They forgot about the provinces and plunged themselves heart and soul into the Civil Disobedience Movement, which was started again on 3 January, 1932, alter Gandhiji's return to India.

After his return from the Second Round Table, the Raja of Bobbili became the Chief Minister of Madras in November 1932. When the Legislative Council began discussions on the proposed constitutional reforms, Harisavothama Rao moved an amendment for the "immediate creation of Andhra Province". It was disallowed. The Raja, who had earlier pleaded for Andhra province with the British authorities, changed his views on becoming the Chief Minister. He told the Legislative Council that all must act as Indians and give a chance for the working of the new reforms. His reply infuriated many Andhra members and as many as 15 Andhra members gave notices of resolutions for the creation of Andhra province along with the introduction of the new constitutional reforms. The resolution for the creation of Andhra

Province was passed by the Council. The Madras Government forwarded it to the Government of India without any remarks or comments.

Civil Disobedience Movement in Andhra

On 6 April, 1930, Gandhiji began his campaign of Civil Disobedience by setting out to Dandi with 78 followers to break the laws regarding the production of salt. This was the beginning of a nationwide mass movement.

The Andhra Congress Committee appointed Konda Venkatappaiah as the dictator for the entire Andhra region to carry on the Satyagraha Movement. For each district there was a dictator and a war council to advise him. A *sibiram* or military camp was also established in each district. In Madras city, the main participants in the Salt Satyagraha, as the Civil Disobedience Movement came to be known, were Andhras. Prominent among them were K. Nageswara Rao, V. L. Sastry, Durgabai Deshmukh, Gade Rangayya Naidu and T. Prakasam.

One of the main features of the Salt Satyagraha was the participation of women in their thousands. Many women were sent to jail, prominent among them being Smt. Bharati Devi Ranga, Vallabhaneni Sitamahalakshamma, Digumarti Janakamma and Khammampati Manikyamba. The last mentioned lady went to prison with a six-month-old baby in her arms.

At Berhampore, on 15 January, 1932, the police opened fire on Satyagrahis, resulting in injuries to many. Mahatma Gandhi was released from prison on 8 May, 1933, and he suspended the movement on 14 July, 1933.

Leftist Parties

The failure of the Civil Disobedience Movement and Nehru's articles on Socialism after his visit to Soviet Russia influenced many Andhras to organise parties with left-wing affiliations. From 1935 onwards, three leftist parties became prominent in Andhra. They were the Communist Party, Congress Socialist Party and the Radical Humanist Party of M. N. Roy. P. Sundarayya was the earliest organiser of the Communist Movement in Andhra. Slowly, communist ideas caught the fancy of the Andhra youth. Many books on Soviet Russia and communism appeared in Telugu. As early as 1934, Maxim Gorky's *Mother* was translated into Telugu by K. Lingaraju. About the same time, Srirangam Srinivasa Rao (Sri Sri) published his poetical work *Maha Prasthanam*, which created a tremendous impact on the minds of the youth. The book helped the spread of Marxist ideas. Literary journals like *Udayini*, edited by Kompella Janardhana Rao, and *Prathibha*, edited by Siva Sankara Sastri, created a new school of Telugu poetry and challenged the traditionalists. In Rayalaseema, Vidwan Viswam

and Tarimala Nagi Reddi popularised socialist ideas through the publication of *Navya Sahityamala* at Anantapur.

At Tenali, M. N. Roy's ideas received ready acceptance. The youth of that town, like T. Gopichand, A. Gopalakrishna Murthy, Koganti Radhakrishna Murthy, M. V. Sastry and G. V. Krishna Rao, exerted tremendous influence over the younger generation by their writings. Gopichand popularised Marxists ideas by his writings in *Prajamitra.* Later in his life, Gopichand gave up many of his Marxist ideas. He, however, carved a niche for himself in Telugu literature by his famous novel *Asamarthuni Jeevitha Yatra.*

Prof. N. C. Ranga began his political career as a leftist. He took great interest in organising the Kisan Movement in Andhra. Under the able guidance of his two followers, Pullela Syamasundar Rao and Gouthu Latchanna, the kisans of Srikakulam district waged many successful struggles against the Zamindars. The Socialist Party established its Andhra unit at Vijayawada in June 1934 with Prof. Ranga as President and Madduri Annapurnayya as Secretary. Other prominent members were Alluri Satyanarayana Raju, K. Linga Raju, P. Sundarayya and C. Rajeswara Rao. The last two members later joined the Communist Party.

In Telangana, the leftist ideas began to spread when a youth forum under the name "Comrades Association" was started in Hyderabad city. Makdum Mohinuddin, Rajabahadur Gour and Syed Ibrahim were active participants in the forum. B. Ramakrishna Rao also supported its activities. D. Venkateswara Rao and S. Ramankdhan, who participated in the Vandemataram movement in Hyderabad, had left-wing sympathies. Among the active participants of the Andhra Mahasabha, Ravi Narayana Reddi, Baddam Yella Reddy and Arutla Narasimha Reddi were influenced by Marxist ideas. The Nizam State Communist Party was established as early as 1929. Andhra Communist leader C. Rajeswara Rao conducted the first political school of the Hyderabad Committee. From the very beginning, there was close coordination between the Communists of Andhra and Telangana.

Quit India Movement

As already mentioned, the Congress ministries resigned from office in November 1939. By 1941–42 the war situation both in Europe and Asia was not favourable to the allies. Realising the need to enlist Indian support for war efforts, the British Government decided to resolve the Indian political deadlock by sending Sir Stafford Cripps to India in March 1942. He opened negotiations with different political parties, but his talks failed.

The failure of the Cripps Mission created a feeling of frustration among the Indians, since Japanese forces threatened to knock at the door of India. The AICC, which met at Bombay on 6 August, 1942, passed the Quit India

resolution. The Government of India replied by arresting Gandhiji and the members of Congress Working Committee. This angered the people and led to disturbances in different parts of the country.

In Coastal Andhra, riots broke out in different towns. The police opened fire at Tenali on 12 August, which resulted in the death of about nine persons. Firings took place at Guntur and Bhimavaram on 13 August and 17 August respectively.

7
ANDHRA IN MADRAS POLITICS

Justice Party

In November 1916, about 30 non-Brahmin leaders of the Madras Presidency, including Pitty Tyagaraja Chetti, formed an association called South Indian People's Association to publish newspapers in English, Telugu and Tamil to ventilate the grievances of the non-Brahmins. The association brought out an English daily called *Justice* on 26 February, 1917. Earlier, in December 1916, the South Indian Liberal Federation (S.I.L.F.) was inaugurated to safeguard the interests of the non-Brahmins. Within a short time, the S.I.L.F. came to be known as the Justice Party. Though many of its leaders were Telugus, the Justice Party did not have much following in Andhra.

When the British Government decided to grant reforms to India as per Montagu's announcement of 1917, the Justice Party sent a deputation to present its case before the Joint Select Committee. Among its members were K. V. Reddi Naidu of Eluru and Koka Appa Rao Naidu of Berhampore, P. Ramarayaningar (later Raja of Panagal) also went to London as a representative of All India Land Holder's Association. Later, he joined the Justice Party.

The British Government granted reforms, popularly known as Mont-Ford Reforms (Montagu-Chelmsford) in 1919. The important element in the reforms was the introduction of dyarchy in the provinces. Under the new reforms, provincial elections were held in 1920. The Congress boycotted the elections. The Justice Party, which supported the British connection, fought the elections and came out successful. The leader of the Justice Party was Thyagaraja Chetti. He became the leader of the party after the death of Dr. T. M. Nair. When the Government of Madras asked him to form the ministry, Thyagaraja Chetti declined. So Subbarayulu Reddiar, the Justice Party member from Cuddalore in South Arcot district, became the Chief Minister in December 1920, but he resigned in April 1921 due to ill health. Thereupon, P. Ramarayaningar became the Chief Minister. The other Andhra minister was K. V. Reddi Naidu.

The domination of the Justice Party by the Andhras led to a bitter rivalry between Andhras and Tamils. During the 1920s and 1930s, Madras politics was marked by the Brahmin, non-Brahmin and Telugu-Tamil controversies. The Telugu-Tamil controversies weakened the Justice Party to some extent. In the elections of 1923, it could win only 44 out of the 98 elected seats. In 1920, it had won as many as 63. It was able to maintain its majority in the Council as the nominated members supported it.

Justice Party and the Demand for Andhra Province

Though the Justice Party was dominated by Andhra leaders, it never supported the formation of a separate Andhra Province. The reason for this is not far to seek. In the Andhra area, the Justice Party had a very poor following. On the other hand, the Congress was very popular and it was able to organise the Non-Cooperation Movement in the Telugu district, especially Guntur, to an amazing degree of success. The Andhra leaders of the Justice Party never wanted to have a province where they would count for nothing. In 1922, M. Suryanarayana, a member from Visakhapatnam, introduced a resolution in the Madras Legislative Council recommending the Madras Government to create a separate Andhra province. The resolution brought to the surface the differences between the Justice Party ministers regarding their attitude towards the question of the Andhra province. A. P. Patro, the Education Minister, persuaded Suryanarayana not to press his resolution, but Reddi Naidu supported the demand for a separate Andhra province. In his minute he stated:

> The Telugu of the Northern Circars have always agitated for a separate Andhra province and those in the Ceded districts are not in favour of it, or at any rate, are not enthusiastic about it. Personally, I have always been of the opinion that an Andhra province is a necessity. But owing to differences between Brahmins and non-Brahmins in recent years, my attitude has slightly altered. I am still in favour of a separate province for the Andhras provided statutory guarantees are made for a majority of non-Brahmins in the Legislative Council and in the public services of the new province.[1]

Establishment of the Andhra University

As early as 1913, the Andhra Mahasabha at its first session demanded the creation of a separate university for Andhra as it felt that Telugu language and literature was not receiving proper attention at the Madras University. Moreover, the students from Andhra found it difficult to get admission into that University as it was dominated by Tamils. In February 1917, B. Venkatapathi Raju moved a resolution in the Madras Legislative Council

1. Quoted in Eugene F. Irschick, *Politics and Social Conflict in South India*, Berkeley, 1969, pp. 245–246.

for the creation of a separate university for Andhra, after the end of the War. He suggested that, in the meantime, additional colleges may be established in the Andhra area.

In October 1920, the Senate of the Madras University also felt the need to establish separate universities for the different linguistic groups of the Presidency. After the formation of the first Justice Ministry under 1919 reforms, M. Suryanarayana from the Visakhapatnam district moved a resolution in the Legislative Council for the creation of a separate University for Andhra. Some Tamil members opposed the resolution. C. Natesa Mudaliar raised an objection saying that it was impossible to define Andhra country. He felt that the creation of Andhra University would weaken the non-Brahmin movement. But another Tamil member supported the resolution as he felt that the creation of Andhra University would lead to the establishment of another University for the Tamil area.[2]

The resolution was accepted on 2 September, 1921.[3] But A. P. Patro, the Education Minster, introduced a bill for the reorganisation of the Madras University. Many Andhras felt that it was an attempt to scuttle the creation of Andhra University. The bill was passed. G. Vandanam, a member from Andhra, pointed out that "those of us who supported the organisation of the scheme of Madras University reorganisation would help us to get an Andhra University at no distant date."[4]

Finally a bill for the creation of Andhra University was introduced in the Legislative Council on 20 August, 1925, and was referred to the Select Committee.[5] Some members of Rayalaseema in the Select Committee wanted to exclude Rayalaseema from the jurisdiction of the Andhra University. A member from Cuddapah, T. M. Narasimhacharyulu, moved an amendment to exclude Ceded districts from the jurisdiction. S. Satyamurthi from Madras city wanted the exclusion of Bellary district. T. Mallesappa of Bellary district wanted the exclusion of the Kannada taluks of Bellary district.[6] All the amendments were voted down.

There was some opposition to the title "Andhra University". K. V. Reddi Naidu wanted it to be known as the Telugu University. He contended that the word "Andhra" smacked of Aryan origin. He declared, "We Telugus have always been recognised as Dravidians (hear, hear), and when I ask this bill to be named after the Telugus, I appeal to my Dravidian friends, my Tamil friends, my Kanarese friends, my Malayalam friends, not to part with us, as different from them."[7] Natesa Mudaliar, who had earlier opposed the creation

2. Madras Legislative Council Proceedings, Vol. U, pp. 721–725.
3. Ibid., 713-737. [x]
4. Ibid., Vol. XII, p. 2413.
5. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 713–737.
6. Ibid., Vol. XIII, pp. 511, 529 and 735.
7. Ibid., p. 122.

of a separate Andhra University, responding to the sentiments expressed by Reddi Naidu, declared, "Telugus can never be separated from the Tamils. . . . We are Dravidians and will not be separated." Ramaswami Mudaliar expressed the hope that the new university would develop Dravidian studies as opposed to Sanskrit studies.[8] The amendment of Reddi Naidu to change the name of the university to Telugu University was rejected by 26 votes to 24.[9] On 26 April, 1926, Andhra University was inaugurated at Vijayawada with jurisdiction over all the Telugu districts of the Presidency. Cattamanchi Ramalinga Reddi became the first Vice-Chancellor.

Location of the University Headquarters

Andhra University began its career with a great controversy over the location of its headquarters. This did great damage to the already strained relations between the Circars and Rayalaseema. The Andhra University Act mentioned Vijayawada as the headquarters of the administrative offices of the university. It was proposed to make Rajahmundry as the centre of the teaching departments. As the location of the administrative offices and the teaching departments in two different places was likely to hamper the efficiency of the university, it was decided by the Government on 7 April, 1927, to recommend to the Senate of the University to shift the teaching departments to Vijayawada.

This led to a great controversy. Many members of the Legislature gave notices to amend the Act and suggested different towns for the location of the headquarters and the teaching departments. The Rayalaseema leaders wanted the location of the headquarters in their area. The Andhra University Senate responded to the desire of the Rayalaseema and voted by 35 to 20 to make Anantapur the headquarters of the university. It also recommended the establishment of the first grade college in the university area. The Select Committee of the Madras Legislative Council also endorsed the choice of Anantapur.

When it appeared that the controversy had been resolved to the satisfaction of all, Dr. Subbaroyan, the Chief Minister, revived the controversy in September 1928 by suggesting Rajahmundry as the headquarters. This led to the revival of regional controversies and many suggestions were made to make Vijayawada, Rajahmundry and Visakhapatnam the headquarters. In December 1928, Subbaroyan's government made another suggestion to locate the headquarters at Visakhapatnam. It also suggested that the university should be of a unitary type, implying thereby that the existing colleges in the Andhra University area would be re-affiliated to the Madras University. To add to the controversy, Bollina Munuswamy Naidu of Chittoor introduced another amendment to exclude Rayalaseema from the jurisdiction

8. Ibid., pp. 124–125.
9. Ibid, p. 129.

of the Andhra University. Finally, the Legislature accepted the amendments making Visakhapatnam as the headquarters of the university and excluded Rayalaseema from its jurisdiction.

The controversy over the headquarters of the Andhra University created such ill-feeling between the Circars and Rayalaseema that it delayed the formation of Andhra province by several years. We need not be surprised at the partisan attitude of Dr. Subbaroyan in this sordid controversy if we remember that many members from Andhra voted in favour of the no-confidence motion against his ministry in August 1927.

Decline of the Justice Party

It has been noted already that under the Reforms of 1919, elections were held in 1920 and that the Justice Party came to power in the Madras Presidency. Soon after the elections, the party began to disintegrate. The party leaders like Thyagaraja Chetti and Raja of Panagal were accused of Telugu bias. Many Tamil members of the party like Natesa Mudaliar felt that the party had done nothing to ameliorate the conditions of the poor classes, especially Harijans. In the elections of 1923, the party could win only 44 seats as compared to 63 it won in 1920. It could form the ministry only with the support of the nominated members. On 28 November, 1923, C. R. Reddi, the Madras University representative in the Council and a former Justice member, brought a no-confidence motion against the ministry. The resolution was defeated, but it clearly showed that the Justice Party was not its former self.

The party received a serious blow with the death of Thyagaraja Chetti on 28 April, 1925. The party could not prevent the rise of the Swaraj Party, which began to dominate the national scene after the suspension of the Non-cooperation Movement in 1922. In the 1926 elections, the Swarajists won 41 seats as against 22 won by the Justice Party. There were as many as 36 independents. The leader of the Swaraj Party in the Council, C. V. S. Narasimha Raju, refused the Governor's invitation to form the ministry since his party was against accepting office. The Justice Party leader, the Raja of Panagal, also expressed his inability to form the ministry in the face of the opposition from the Swarajists. Finally, a ministry headed by an independent candidate, Dr. P. Subbaroyan, was formed. On 16 December, 1928 the Raja of Panagal died. With his death the Justice Party lost one of its great stalwarts. It was really the end of the party, though in 1930 and again in 1936 it formed the ministry under B. Munuswami Naidu and the Raja of Bobbili, respectively.

The Sri Bagh Pact

The controversy over the headquarters of the Andhra University had confirmed the suspicions of the people of Rayalaseema that they may not

get fair treatment in the Andhra province. In order to protect the interests of Rayalaseema, an organisation known as *Rayalaseema Mahasabha* was formed in 1934 by Justices like C. L. Narasimha Reddi, K. Subrahmanyam and others. The first session of the Rayalaseema Mahasabha was held at Madras on 28 January, 1934.[10] Nemali Pattabhirama Rao of Cuddapah presided over the conference, which was opened by S. Satyamurthi, who was well-known for his anti-Andhra bias. The conference, however, opposed the attempts made by the legislators of the Coastal districts to extend the jurisdiction of the Andhra University over Rayalaseema. By another resolution, the conference demanded the creation of Sri Venkateswara University at Tirupati. No prominent Congressman from Rayalaseema attended the conference.

The second session of the conference was held at Cuddapah in the first week of September 1935. Important Congress leaders of Rayalaseema like K. Koti Reddi, G. Harisarvothama Rao and P. Ramachari did not attend it. The conference failed to make any impact on the people. The leaders of the Rayalaseema Mahasabha, like Narasimha Reddi and Subrahmanyam, contested the election of 1937 and were defeated by Congress candidates.

In the 1937 elections, the Congress came out triumphant and it assumed office on 14 July, 1937, under the leadership of C. Rajagopalachari. Soon after the elections, the Andhras intensified their demand for a separate province. Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, who became the President of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee in August 1937, wanted the All India Congress Committee to pass a resolution for the creation of Andhra province. G. Brahmayya, Bulusu Sambamurthy and other leaders also intensified their efforts to secure the province at an early date. Andhra leaders were now able to concentrate on the problems affecting them most, since their minds were not distracted by international issues and national problems. The citizens of Vijayawada decided to invite the Andhra Mahasabha to hold its Silver Jubilee Session in their town. Everywhere there was a new sense of urgency and the leaders of the Circars realised the need to enlist the cooperation of Rayalaseema in order to get their long cherished demand fulfilled.

The activities of the Andhra leaders did not go unnoticed by the great Tamil leader, Sri Chakravarthi Rajagopalachari. Earlier, in May 1935, he announced his retirement from active public life. But the Congress High Command prevailed upon him to contest the elections from the doubly safe university constituency. Many Andhras felt that this was done to prevent Prakasam from becoming the premier of Madras. *Prabhuddha Andhra*, the outspoken Telugu monthly edited by Sripada Subrahmanyam, in its issue of

10. *The Hindu* (Madras), 26 January, 1934.

September 1937 very bluntly said that Prakasam was not allowed to become premier since Gandhiji disliked Andhras becoming great.

When Rajagopalachari became the premier he, by a very clever move, set at nought the efforts of the Andhra leaders to forge unity between the Circars and Rayalaseema. While constituting his cabinet, he included Prakasam, Bezawada Gopala Reddi and V. V. Giri, all hailing from Coastal Andhra, as ministers. The Rayalaseema districts were not given any representation. Naturally, Rayalaseema became very sore and felt that it was let down by the Circar leaders, who had not insisted on the inclusion of the Rayalaseema representatives in the Cabinet. Noticing the rift between Rayalaseema and the Circars, the Tamil leaders like Rajagopalachariar, Satyamurthi and T. S. S. Rajan openly spoke against Andhra province. This made Pattabhi make the prophetic remark that "the British would grant us independence sooner than the Tamil Ministers would give us a separate province."[11]

In this atmosphere of suspicion and disillusionment, the Silver Jubilee session of the Andhra Mahasabha was held at Vijayawada towards the end of October 1937. The session was inaugurated by Halaharvi Sitarama Reddi and presided over by Kadapa Koti Reddi, both MLAs from Rayalaseema. They gave vent to the suspicions of Rayalaseema and appealed to the Circar leaders to win back the confidence of Rayalaseema by providing safeguards to that region. The safeguards related mainly to the location of the capital, parity of representation in the ministry between the Circars and Rayalaseema and the execution of irrigation projects like Tungabhadra.

The Circar leaders appreciated the genuine fears of the Rayalaseema people and decided to provide the safeguards they demanded. The Circar leaders remembered how, due to their pre-occupation with national affairs, the genuine Telugu areas like Parlakimedi, Berhampore, Chatrapur, and Jeypore agency were lost to Orissa when it was made a separate province in 1936. They felt that the time had come to put an end to the dissensions among the Telugu people and make an all out effort to secure Andhra province.

On 16 November, 1937, the leaders of the Circars and Rayalaseema, including Konda Venkatappaiah, Desiraju Hanumantha Rao, K. Koti Reddi, H. Sitarama Reddy, Kallur Subba Rao and G. Harisarvothama Rao, met at Sri Bagh, the Madras residence of K. Nageswara Rao of *Andhra Patrika* and signed an agreement known popularly as the "Sri Bagh" Agreement. The agreement provided :

University: That two University centres are to be developed under the Andhra University, one at Waltair and another at Anantapur, so as to distribute the centres of culture over the Andhra Desa

11. *Andhra Patrika,* 15 October 1937.

and create opportunities for social and cultural intercourse amongst the Andhras and locate colleges in areas favourable to the subjects dealt with.

Irrigation: That to ensure the rapid development of agricultural and economic interests of Rayalaseema and Nellore to the level of those in the Coastal districts, schemes of irrigation should, for a period of ten years or such longer period as conditions may necessitate, be given preferential claim, specially in respect of the utilization of the waters of Tungabhadra, Krishna and Pennar, giving for ten years exclusive attention in respect of major projects beneficial to these areas.

That whenever the question of sharing waters arise, the needs of the beforesaid areas be first met, and that this policy be implemented as from today in the administration of the province. (And)

Legislature: That in the matter of general seats in the Legislature, the distribution shall be generally on an equal district basis.

It is agreed that the location of the University, the Headquarters and the High Court may advantageously be in different places so as not to concentrate all civil importance at the same centre. Accordingly it is agreed that while the University may continue to be where it is, the High Court and the Metropolis be located in suitable places in the Coastal districts and Rayalaseema, the choice being given to Rayalaseema.

It shall, however, be open to vary these terms by common consent.

After the signing of the "Sri Bagh" pact, the Andhra members of the Madras Legislature requested the Premier to sponsor a resolution on Andhra province. Rajagopalachari, whose anti-Andhra proclivities were well known, outwitted the Andhra members by making the Madras Legislature pass a comprehensive resolution for the creation of Andhra, Madras, Kerala and Mysore provinces. K. V. Reddi Naidu's amendment, for the immediate creation of Andhra province as a first step was rejected. The Madras Government forwarded the resolution of the Government of India on 21 April, 1938.

Meanwhile, on 2 May, the British Government announced in the House of Commons that no new provinces would be created in India. This announcement shocked the Andhras. Many suspected that the British Government's attitude might have been influenced by Rajagopalachari's advice. Bulusu Sambamurthy, Speaker of Madras Assembly, wanted to resign his position and take active part in the agitation for Andhra province. The Congress High Command ordered that no Congressman should take part in the agitation. He bowed down to the dictates of the High Command.

On 25 March, 1939, Rajagopalachari informed the Madras Assembly that the Secretary of State for India turned down the request for the creation of Andhra. The Second World War broke out in September 1939 and the Congress ministers in the provinces resigned in November 1939. The question of Andhra province, once again, receded into the background.

Sir Vijaya and the Andhra Mahasabha

Andhra Mahasabha, for all practical purposes, became an ineffective organisation as it was dominated by Congressmen. But after the failure of the Congress attempts to secure a separate province, many Andhras felt that the Andhra Mahasabha should be revitalised by inducting non-Congressmen into the organisation. In November 1941, the Andhra Mahasabha met for its annual session at Visakhapatnam. It was presided over by Sir Vijayanand of Vijayanagaram, who used to reside at Banaras. He was popularly known as Sir Vijaya and was known for his interest in cricket. He commanded a good amount of influence among the official circles and native princes. In 1937 elections, he defeated a Congress candidate in U.P.

After Sir Vijaya became the President, Andhra Mahasabha became very active. Sir Vijaya first turned his attention towards removing the lingering suspicion among the people of Rayalaseema. Here it may be pointed out that after the conclusion of the "Sri Bagh" pact, many of the Rayalaseema leaders favoured the formation of Andhra province, but in 1938, some Telugu people of Bellary, like R. Suryanarayana Rao and N. M. Sastry, organised a new Rayalaseema Mahasabha. It met for its first session at Adoni. It opposed the creation of Andhra province on administrative, political and financial grounds.

Sir Vijaya toured Rayalaseema and collected funds for the famine stricken people of the area. He also requested the Governor to sanction more funds for famine relief. Sir Vijaya met the British administrators and brought to their notice the grievances of the Andhras. On 2 April, 1942, he met Sir Stafford Cripps and submitted to him a memorandum for the creation of Andhra province.

In 1943, the Andhra Mahasabha met for its annual session at Bellary. Sir Vijaya suggested that in the election to the Legislatures, Andhras should elect only those candidates who pledge to work for the creation of Andhra province. In other words, he wanted to make Andhra Mahasabha a political organisation. The Second World War came to an end in 1945. In April 1946 elections were held and Congress assumed office in Madras Presidency. Sir Vijaya resigned his presidentship of Andhra Mahasabha due to ill health towards the end of 1946. With his resignation, the activity of the Andhra Mahasabha came to an end.

8

FORMATION OF ANDHRA STATE

When India attained independence on 15 August, 1947, the Andhras hoped that their long cherished desire of a separate Andhra province would be fulfilled soon. Their optimism was based on the Congress election manifesto of 1946, wherein it was declared that the provinces of the country would have to be constituted, as far as possible, on the basis of language and culture. Many Andhra leaders like Prakasam and Ranga met Sardar Patel, the Home Minister and Deputy Prime Minister, Government of India, and requested him to see that the Andhra province was created before the new constitution was drafted. Patel promised to consider the legal implications. On 27 November, 1947, Prime Minister Nehru announced that his government accepted the principle of linguistic provinces. This led to a speculation that Andhra province would be created by April 1948, by an order in Council under Section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, as adopted by the Indian Provincial Constitutional order dated 14 August, 1947. As a matter of fact, Andhra was mentioned as one of the Governor's provinces in the first schedule, but later it was declared that:

> If Andhra or any other region is to be mentioned in the schedule before the constitution is finally drafted, steps will have to be taken immediately to make them into separate Governor's provinces under Section 290 of the Government of India Act, 1935, before the draft constitution is finally passed.[1]

This announcement created great disappointment among the Andhras. The frustration of the Andhras was exploited by the non-Congress parties, particularly the Communist Party. When Nehru visited Visakhapatnam in March 1948, he tried to assuage the feelings of the Andhras by declaring that a committee would be appointed to consider the question of the creation of linguistic provinces.

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1. Draft Constitution of India, prepared by the Drafting Committee, Constituent Assembly of India, New Delhi, 1948, p. xi and also p. 159.

Dar Commission

On 17 June, 1948, a Linguistic Province Committee was set up by the President of the Constituent Assembly. The Chairman of the Commission was S. K. Dar, a retired judge of the Allahabad High Court. Other members were Dr. Pannalal, ICS (Retd.) and Jagat Narayan Lal, a member of the Constituent Assembly.

The Commission was asked to report what new provinces should be created and also state "the administrative, economic, financial and other consequences" of the creation of new provinces. Further, it was asked to report on administrative consequences of the new provinces on the adjoining territories.

From the terms of reference, it was obvious that language alone was not the sole criteria for the creation of new provinces. Other essential requirements were administrative efficiency and sound finance.

When the Commission visited Madras, the Andhra Mahasabha submitted a memorandum demanding the creation of Visalandhra. But Sanjiva Reddi, on behalf of about 20 legislators of Rayalaseema, submitted a memorandum urging the postponement of linguistic provinces. In case Andhra was to be formed as a separate province, he wanted statutory safeguards for Rayalaseema. The Rayalaseema Mahasabha was represented by its Bellary spokesmen, M. N. Sastry and H. Linga Reddi, who, while opposing linguistic provinces, wanted a separate Rayalaseema province with Madras as capital, in case the Andhra province was formed.

The Commission submitted its report on 10 December, 1948, recommending that no new provinces should be formed for the present.[2] About the linguistic provinces, the Commission said:

> The formation of provinces on exclusively or even mainly linguistic considerations is not in the larger interests of the Indian Nation and should not be taken in hand.[3]

The Commission made the following observation regarding the enthusiasm of the people for linguistic provinces:

> These linguistic provinces make a strong appeal to the imagination of our countrymen and there exists a large volume of public support in their favour. Indeed in the Coastal districts of Andhra, the demand has become, in the words of one of its leading advocates, "a passion and has ceased to be a matter of reason," and the heat and passion and controversy, which gathered round the work of this Commission and which we witnessed during the course of our work, are in themselves

2. Report of the Linguistic Provinces Commission, New Delhi, 1948, p. 2.
3. Ibid., para 152 (1).

proof of the intensity of feeling which exists on this subject. The non-fulfilment of a demand of this nature may easily lead to a sense of frustration, and there is grave risk in turning it down, and such a risk can only be justified in the interest of national emergency.[4]

The report of the Commission created such an uproar in the country, especially in Andhra, that the Congress felt it prudent to assuage the feelings of the public by creating another committee to consider the question of linguistic provinces. The members of the Committee were Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel and Pattabhi Sitaramayya.

The Committee, popularly known as the "J.V.P. Committee" from the initials of its members, submitted its report to the Congress Working Committee in April 1949. It recommended the postponement of linguistic provinces by a few years. However, it made an exception in the case of Andhra, provided the Andhras gave up their claim to the city of Madras. The Congress High Command knew very well that it was impossible for Andhra leaders to give up their claims to the city of Madras without reviving ill feeling between the Circars and Rayalaseema. In this connection, one must understand the Andhra politics immediately following Indian independence.

Andhra Congress Politics 1946–1953

In the Andhra Congress, there were two groups centering around the prominent Andhras, Prakasam and Pattabhi Sitaramayya. Pattabhi, after becoming the Congress President towards the end of 1948, used to interfere in Andhra politics through his able lieutenant Kala Venkata Rao. In the 1946 elections, the Congress Party fared very well in all Telugu districts. Prakasam contested for the leadership of the party, against the wishes of the Congress High Command, and won. He formed the ministry and included K. Koti Reddi in the Cabinet as the nominee of Rayalaseema legislators, who had voted en-bloc for Prakasam but were disappointed since they expected two positions in the Cabinet. The Pattabhi group joined hands with the Tamil legislators, who did not like the Andhra leadership, and toppled Prakasam's Ministry in March 1947. O. P. Ramaswami Reddiar was elected leader of the Congress Party in the Assembly and he formed the ministry, which continued in power till 1949.

In June 1948, the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee elections took place. N. G. Ranga and Sanjiva Reddy contested for the Presidentship. Prakasam's group supported Ranga while Kala Venkata Rao's group supported Sanjiva Reddy. Ranga was able to win the election by a narrow

4. *Ibid.*, para 346.

margin. He realised that he must enlist the cooperation of Rayalaseema members. He therefore nominated P. Timma Reddi and K. Obula Reddy as Vice-President and General Secretary of the A.P.C.C., respectively. By this move, Ranga felt that he would he able to cut down the influence of Sanjiva Reddy among the Reddies and also in Rayalaseema. Here it may not be out of place to state that politics in Andhra after independence were influenced by caste and regional considerations.

In April 1949, P. S. Kumaraswami Raja and Dr Subbaroyan contested for the leadership of the Madras Legislative Party. The Kala Venkata Rao and Gopala Reddi group supported Kumaraswami Raja, while the Prakasam group supported Subbaroyan, who lost the election by 89 votes to 105. Sanjiva Reddy was taken into the Cabinet. While these developments were taking place in Madras, the J.V.P. Report was submitted. As noted earlier, the report favoured the creation of Andhra province provided Andhras renounced their claims to the city of Madras. This proviso placed the Kala Venkata Rao-Gopala Reddi Group, which contained many legislators from Rayalaseema, in a delicate position. Rayalaseema members found it very difficult to abandon the claims to Madras city.

When Pattabhi found that the J.V.P. Report provoked violent reactions in Andhra, he tried to explain away the proviso regarding the city of Madras. He said that non-inclusion of Madras city in Andhra did not mean its inclusion in Tamil Nadu, thereby implying that it may be made a separate administrative unit. This explanation convinced no one, but still A.P.C.C. requested the Government of India to create Andhra province immediately with the undisputed Telugu districts and make Madras city a separate province. Both the Tamil Nadu Congress Committee and the Government of Madras accepted the J.V.P. Report as it had vindicated their stand, namely, that Madras city was outside the territorial limits of Andhra, in other words, it was a part of Tamil Nadu. The Congress Working Committee also recommended the Government of India to take steps for the creation of a separate Andhra province.

Partition Committee

The Madras Government took immediate steps towards the creation of Andhra province by appointing a Partition Committee. Kumaraswami Raja, the Chief Minister, was the Chairman of the Committee. Andhra was represented by Prakasam, Gopala Reddi, Kala Venkata Rao and Sanjiva Reddy, while the non-Telugu areas were represented by Bhaktavatsalam, T. T. Krishnamachari and Madhava Menon.

Dissenting Note of Prakasam

Prakasam contended that "until the new capital and seat of Andhra High Court were made ready, the Andhra Government and the Andhra High Court were entitled to stay on in Madras city and carry on all their work including that of Legislature."[5] The non-Andhra members turned down this contention. They wanted the provisional capital of Andhra to be situated within the limits of Andhra province and that the Andhra legislature should hold its sitting in the provisional capital. All that they were prepared to allow the Andhra government was to locate some of their offices in Madras city for a temporary period.

Prakasam, thereupon submitted a dissenting note as he could not agree with the majority on an important question like the location of the temporary capital, division of assets and liabilities, etc.

The Government of India, which was not very keen on the creation of Andhra province, took advantage of Prakasam's dissenting note and shelved the issue.

The new Constitution of India came into force on 26 January, 1950. The creation of Andhra State (in the new Constitution, provinces were called States) seemed to be outside the realm of practical politics. The general public of Andhra became sore at the attitude of the Congress leaders, who were oblivious of public reaction and continued their sordid game of petty politics. Pattabhi, before relinquishing his office of Congress President, superseded the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee on 3 September, 1950, and appointed S. K. Patil to take over A.P.C.C. and conduct elections. The elections to the A.P.C.C. were conducted in April 1961. Sanjiva Reddy, who was supported by the Pattabhi group, defeated Ranga, supported by the Prakasam group, by 87 votes to 82.[6] When Sanjiva Reddy became the President of the A.P.C.C., Prakasam and Ranga left the Congress.

Swami Sitaram's Fast

Swami Sitaram (formerly Gollapudi Sitaram Sastry) felt that he should adopt the Gandhian technique to achieve the Andhra State. So he began his fast unto death on independence day, 1951. Nehru disapproved of the extra constitutional methods to coerce the Government. The fast created a highly explosive situation in Andhra and led to some untoward incidents. Thereupon, Acharya Vinoba Bhave advised the Swami to give up his fast so that the whole issue could be settled in a peaceful atmosphere. The Swami ended his 35 day fast on 20 September, 1951. Nothing came out of this fast except increasing the contempt of the people towards the Andhra Congress leaders.

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5. The Partition Committee Report (Madras), p. 5.
6. *The Hindu* (Madras), 12 April, 1951.

Potti Sriramulu's Fast and the Formation of Andhra State

The people expressed their resentment towards the Congress in the General elections of 1952. In the entire Madras State, the Congress could win only 152 out of 375 seats. In Andhra, out of 140 seats the Congress could secure only 43. The Communists won as many as 41 seats. Those defeated included Congress stalwarts like Kala Venkata Rao, Gopala Reddi and Sanjiva Reddy. The Communists and the Kisan Majdur Praja Party (K.M.P.P.) of Prakasam formed themselves into a United Democratic Front (U.D.F.). Prakasam was elected the leader of the U.D.F., which had the support of 164 members. Even though the U.D.F. was the largest single group in the Assembly, the Governor did not invite Prakasam to form the ministry. On the other hand, he nominated C. Rajagopalachariar to the Legislative Council and invited him to form the ministry.

After C. Rajagopalachariar became the Chief Minister of Madras, he tried to utilise his position to develop Tamil Nadu at the expense of Andhra. He took active interest in the Krishna Pennar Project to divert the waters of Krishna river to Tamil Nadu, thereby injuring the interests of Andhra. This led to a tremendous popular agitation in Andhra against the project. At the same time, the Khosla Committee, which went into the technical details of the project, pronounced that "in its present forms (it) should not be proceeded with". As an alternative, it suggested the setting up of Nandikonda (Nagarjunasagar) Project. In such a situation, Potti Sriramulu began his fast unto death on 19 October, 1952 at Madras.

When the fast entered its 50th day, Nehru criticised it. The next day, in the Rajya Sabha, he repeated the same old statement that the Government of India will form Andhra State without Madras city, provided there was a general agreement among the parties concerned. Sriramulu was not prepared to accept Nehru's statement and give up his fast since he remembered that Nehru had not acted on his own statements during the fast of Swami Sitaram.

The fast created an explosive situation in Andhra and on the night of 15 December, 1952 Sriramulu attained martyrdom. The news of the passing away of Sriramulu engulfed the entire Andhra in chaos. For three days mobs raided railway stations and other Government buildings. Police had to open fire at Anakapalle, Vijayawada and other places, which resulted in the death of seven persons. The disturbances in Andhra opened the eyes of the Indian Government. On 19 December, Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha that the Government of India had decided to form Andhra State with undisputed Telugu districts, excluding the city of Madras.

Justice Kailas Nath Wanchoo, Chief Justice of Rajasthan High Court, was appointed as Special Officer to report on financial, administrative and other implications of the formation of Andhra. On 7 February, 1953, Wanchoo submitted his report and on 25 March, 1953, Nehru announced the decision

of the Government of India to create a separate Andhra State, consisting of Srikakulam, Visakhapatnam, East Godavari, West Godavari, Krishna, Guntur, Nellore, Chittoor, Cuddapah, Anantpur and Kurnool districts and Alur, Adoni and Rayadurg talukas of Bellary districts. He also announced that the question of Bellary talukas would be considered later. The remaining talukas of Bellary districts were to be merged with the Mysore State. Justice L. S. Misra of the Hyderabad High Court was appointed to consider the question of the Bellary taluka. He recommended its inclusion in Mysore State. The Government of India accepted his recommendations.

After the announcement of the decision of the Government of India, the Rayalaseema legislators demanded that the capital of the new State be within their region as per the Sri Bagh agreement. The question of the capital generated much heat and it once again brought to the fore the differences between Circars and Rayalaseema. Communists demanded the location of the capital at Vijayawada. Sanjiva Reddy, who was elected as the leader of the Andhra Congress legislators, enlisted the cooperation of Prakasam, whose KMPP had a strength of 20 members. The Krishikar Lok Party (K.L.P.) of Ranga, which had a strength of 15 members, decided to become associate members of the Congress Party.

The K.L.P. wanted Tirupati to be the capital. The Andhra legislature met at Madras in the first week of June to decide on the temporary capital of Andhra. The Congress, P.S.P. and K.L.P. leaders agreed on the choice of Kurnool. The Communists wanted Vijayawada. The legislators, by voice vote, decided in favour of Kurnool. But when the Andhra State bill was discussed in the Madras Legislature, the K.L.P. changed its stand and wanted the capital in Chittoor district. The Communists proposed an amendment to substitute Guntur-Vijayawada for Kurnool. The amendment was lost by a single vote. Here it may be stated that the Chief Minister, C. Rajagopalachari, suggested that no member of the residency State should take part in voting, but five non-Andhra members voted for Kurnool. Had they followed the Chief Minister's advice and refrained from voting, Guntur-Vijayawada would have become the temporary capital of Andhra State.

Sanjiva Reddy knew that the Congress could not form the Government without the support of Prakasam. The P.S.P. also wanted to prevent the Communists from coming to power. So it allowed Prakasam to become an associate member of the Congress. The Congress Party agreed to have the Ministry headed by Prakasam. Sanjiva Reddy became the Deputy Chief Minister. C. M. Trivedi was appointed Governor. On 1 October, 1953, Nehru inaugurated the Andhra State.

TANGUTURI PRAKASAM

Sri T. Prakasam was one of the foremost leaders of our freedom struggle. Through his dauntless courage and sacrifice he won widespread admiration. The people of Andhra Pradesh, in particular, have derived much inspiration from his achievements as fighter, editor and political leader.[7]

Tanguturi Prakasam, the first Chief Minister of the Andhra State and the most popular Andhra leader of this country, was bom on 23 August, 1872, in village Kanuparthi (then in Guntur district). His father, Gopalakrishnayya, was the village headman. He migrated to Nellore district, where he secured a job, earning in Rs. 8 a month in the Venkatagiri estate. Prakasam had his primary education at Nayudupeta. In 1880, when Prakasam was only eight years of age, his father died and the burden of maintaining the family consisting of three young children fell on his mother, a courageous lady with an independent bent of mind. As she did not want to be a drag on her brother, she migrated to Ongole with her children and set up a private mess opposite the Munsiff's court.

Prakasam continued his studies in the Government Middle School, Ongole, where he came under the influence of the Mathematics teacher, Immaneni Hanumantha Rao Naidu. Sri Naidu played a very important part in shaping the career of Prakasam. When Hanumantha Rao Naidu left Ongole for Rajahmundry to join his new post, Prakasam followed him and continued his studies there.

Rajahmundry was, at that time, an active centre of Telugu dramas. Popular dramas written by Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham were frequently enacted. Prakasam was drawn towards the stage. He, along with his mentor, Hanumantha Rao Naidu, took leading roles in plays like Gayopakyanam. Prakasam was also involved in quarrels of different theatre companies. He became notorious as a "rowdy". As a result of these activities, his studies were neglected and he failed in the Matriculation examination. But he managed to pass the examination in his second attempt. He then joined the F.A. class in the Government Arts College, Rajahmundry. He passed the F.A. examination when he was 19 years of age. He wanted to become a pleader, but was not allowed to take up the pleader's examination on the grounds that he had "not yet cut his wisdom tooth". He, therefore, waited for two years and joined the Madras Law College in 1893.

He started practice at Rajahmundry in 1897 and soon began to amass a fortune. He was involved in Municipal politics and became the Chairman

7. Indira Gandhi's Message dated 9 August, 1972 to "Andhra Kesari Prakasam Sata Jayanthi Sanchika", China Nidra Koianu, West Godavari Dist., 1974.

of the Rajahmundry Municipality. In October 1903 he sailed for England to qualify himself as a barrister.

He returned to India in 1906 and set up practice at Madras in 1907. Mr. Justice Wallace advised Prakasam to set up practice in a moffusil town as he felt that an Andhra barrister could not face the competition from the Tamil lawyers of Mylapore. Prakasam did not accept this advice and decided to face the competition from the Tamil lawyers. Within two years he became a leading member of the Bar and usurped the entire practice relating to the Andhra districts.

Prakasam began to take lively interest in the politics of the country. Soon after he had set up practice in Madras in 1907, Bipin Chandra Pal visited that city on a lecture tour. When no prominent citizen came forward to preside over the meetings of Pal, Prakasam came forward and presided over all the meetings of Pal in Madras. During the next 14 years, he had a lucrative practice. During this period he edited the journal *Law Times*. He went to England twice to argue cases before the Privy Council.

Non-Cooperation Movement

When Mahatma Gandhi started his Non-cooperation Movement in 1921, Prakasam was the first lawyer in the city of Madras to give up his practice, which was about Rs. 10,000 a month. He became the President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee in 1921 and continued in that position till 1934. During the course of the next two decades, he spent all his fortune, running into millions of rupees, in the national cause, without any expression of regret.

Swarajya

In order to carry the message of the Congress, he started the English daily called *Swarajya* on 26 October, 1921. For the next 12 years of its existence, Swarajya proved to be the most popular English daily of the South, supporting the freedom struggle. Eminent journalists like G. V. Krupanidhi, Kotamaraju Rama Rao, Kotamaraju Punnaiah and Khasa Subba Rau served on the staff of Swarajya.

Central Assembly

When Gandhiji suspended the Non-cooperation Movement in 1922, many important Congress leaders like Chittaranjan Das and Motilal Nehru became unhappy and formed a new party known as the Swaraj Party. Prakasam joined the Swaraj Party as he was more at home with the politics of C. R. Das and Motilal Nehru. When the Swaraj Party decided to suspend the "Council Boycott" and re-enter the Councils, Prakasam contested the

elections and got himself elected to the Central Legislative Assembly. His work in the Central Assembly pleased leaders like Jinnah, Motilal and Malaviya. In 1929, he was re-elected to the Central Assembly, defeating such an eminent legislator and statesman as Mocharla Ramachandra Rao. But he resigned his seat when Gandhiji launched the Salt Satyagraha in 1931.

Simon Commission, 1928

On 8 November, 1927, the British Government announced the appointment of a Statutory Commission under the chairmanship of John Simon to report on the working of the Reforms of 1919. As there was no Indian in the Commission, almost all the political parties decided to boycott it. The Andhra Mahasabha also decided to boycott the Commission, but the Oriyas of Berhampore and the Utkal Sammilani presented memorandums to the Commission requesting the early formation of Orissa province.

The Municipal Councils of Tirupati, Kurnool, Vijayawada, Eluru and Srikakulam passed resolutions in favour of boycott. Even liberals like Nayapathi Subba Rao decided to boycott the Commission. On 3 February, 1928, *hartal* was observed in almost all Andhra towns.

The Government selected Guntur and Ongole as the two Andhra towns for the visit of the Commission. Prakasam, Ramadas and V. V. Jogaiah issued a joint statement exhorting the Andhras and particularly the citizens of the two towns, Ongole and Guntur, to express their resentment by boycotting the Commission. When Simon and his party halted at Vijayawada railway station on their way to Guntur, the peon of the Municipality handed over to Simon a sealed envelope containing the boycott resolution passed by the Council and also a paper on which the words "Simon, Go Back" were inscribed. The Commission was greeted with black flags at Guntur and Ongole.

The Commission was scheduled to visit Madras on 26 February, 1928. The Chief Presidency Magistrate issued an order prohibiting any kind of political propaganda. Over Madras, the Congress Committees of both Andhra and Tamil Nadu had jurisdiction. The Andhra Provincial Congress Committee decided to defy the prohibitory orders, but the Tamil Nadu Provincial Congress Committee decided otherwise. In spite of Tamil Nadu Congress Committee's non-cooperative attitude, complete *hartal* was observed in Madras on the days of the visit of the Simon Commission. Earlier, T. Prakasam took a leading part in Madras city in conducting propaganda against the Commission. There were some disturbances and one man was killed when the police opened fire. When Prakasam decided to visit the scene of police firing, along with his followers, the police tried to prevent him from moving forward. Thereupon he exposed his chest to the police and declared "we are determined to move on and have a look at the dead

body of our comrade, shoot me if you want." The police were taken aback and allowed him to proceed. For this act of bravery, Prakasam, came to be called "Andhra Kesari".

Salt Satyagraha, 1930

When Gandhiji launched Salt Satyagraha in 1930, Prakasam resigned his membership of the Central Assembly to take, part in the movement. He made Madras city the centre of his activities. He, along with K. Nagesware Rao Panthulu and Smt. Durgabai Deshmukh, offered Satyagraha on 13 April, 1930. Prakasam was arrested and imprisoned at Tiruchirapalli jail.

Revenue Minister

In 1937, the Congress won the elections of the Madras Presidency with an overwhelming majority. The question then was who should be the leader of the party, Prakasam or Rajagopalachari? Prakasam decided not to contest the election and allowed C. Rajagopalachari to form the government as he felt that all Congressmen must stand united since they were forming the government for the first time. Rajagopalachari became the Premier of Madras and Prakasam the Revenue Minister. As Revenue Minister, Prakasam headed the Zamindari Abolition Committee. It recommended the abolition of the Zamindari and that the tiller of the soil should become its owner. The recommendation could not be implemented as the Congress resigned the office in 1939.

Quit India Movement

During the Quit India Movement, Prakasam was arrested at Cuddapah Railway Station on 9 August, 1942, when he was returning to Madras from Bombay after attending the AICC Session. This was his last imprisonment and he was in jail for three years, before he was released in 1945.

Prakasam and Gandhiji

After Prakasam was released from Vellore jail in 1945, the Andhra public presented him a purse of Rs. 50,000. Prakasam's opponents, like Pattabhi and Kala Venkata Rao, tried to make much political capital out of this. Kala Venkata Rao reported to Gandhiji that Prakasam was "living on purses presented to him by public". Thereupon Gandhiji wrote to Prakasam on 3 April, 1946, stating that Prakasam was "corrupting public life".

Prakasam, in his reply to Gandhiji on 9 April, 1946, stated that the Andhra public gave him the purse "for the discharge of my obligations incurred in the service of the public and for my current out goings, but not for any other purpose". He further stated:

Have been discharging, all my obligations to men, to "pitrus", to "Rishies", and to Gods: I am free. I feel that I am one with the nation. I do not need money. I do not earn money. I do not save money. Whatever may remain after satisfying my simple needs, out of the monies showered upon me, from day to day even now—though expressly for my personal and private exclusive use, will devolve in proper time upon the nation and will be entrusted to the most trustworthy hands, for the most trust enduring and beneficent purposes. . . . I never had fear in the past, and I am pledged to non-possession, I do not entertain any desires or any fears for the future.[8]

Premier of Madras

In the 1946 elections, the Congress obtained an absolute majority in the Madras Presidency. Gandhiji wanted Rajaji to become the Premier of Madras, so he asked Prakasam not to stand for leadership. Prakasam defied Gandhiji and won the election. He became the Premier of Madras Presidency on 29 April, 1946. His ministry lasted for only 11 months. While in office, he introduced the Firka Development Scheme—the forerunner of the Community Development Programme. Due to party intrigues, he was forced to resign on 23 March, 1947.

During 1947–1953

After resigning his position as the Premier of Madras, Prakasam's political life underwent many changes. He left the Congress Party and joined the P.S.P. (Praja Socialist Party) and later K.M.P.P. (Krishak Majdur Praja Party) and then the Praja Party. In spite of changing the parties frequently, he remained an idol of the masses.

First Chief Minister of Andhra State

When the Andhra State was formed on 10 October, 1953, the Communists formed the single largest group. The Congress party, therefore, requested Prakasam, to head the ministry. Nehru, while inaugurating the Andhra State, declared that "the Andhra cabinet has got an All Andhra Prestige now, not merely a party prestige, because Mr. Prakasam heads it." During his short tenure of office of 13 months, the Prakasam ministry had many achievements to its credit like establishment of Sri Venkateswara University at Tirupati on 2 September, 1954, the launching of Nagarjuna Sagar Project and the construction of a barrage in the Krishna district, now named after him.

8. Letter of Prakasam to Gandhiji dated 9.4.1946. Quoted in *Andhra Kesari Prakasam Sata Jayanti Sanchika*, p. 115. "China Nindra Golanu" (West Godavari, 1972).

Prakasam's ministry fell on 6 November, 1954 on the issue of prohibition.

In the 1955 general elections, Prakasam was elected to the Legislative Assembly from Ongole. He lived to see the formation of Visalandhra on 1 November, 1956. He passed away at Hyderabad on 20 May, 1957, at the ripe old age of 85.

9

EMERGENCE OF ANDHRA PRADESH

The States Re-organisation Commission (S.R.C.)

After the formation of Andhra State in October 1953, the demand for the creation of other linguistic states gained momentum. On 22 December, 1953, Nehru announced in the Lok Sabha the decision to set up a States Re-organisation Commission to examine "objectively and dispassionately" the whole question of the re-organisation of the States of the Indian Union. One week after Nehru's announcement, the members of the Commission were named. They were Saiyid Fazl Ali (Chairman), H. N. Kunzru and K. M. Panikkar.

The appointment of the Commission was hailed by the Andhras. They hoped that their dream of Visalandhra would be realised since the people of the Hyderabad State were unanimous for the trifurcation of their State. Further, the Andhras thought that all the outlying Telugu areas in Mysore, Orissa, Tamil Nadu and Madhya Pradesh would be incorporated in Visalandhra.

Though the people of Hyderabad State were unanimous for the trifurcation of their State, there was a difference of opinion among the people of Telangana regarding the future of their area. Some favoured its inclusion in Andhra to form Visalandhra with Hyderabad city as capital. Others wanted to maintain the identity of Telangana as a separate state. The Communists consistently supported the formation of Visalandhra. All other parties, including the Hyderabad State Congress, were divided in their opinion regarding the desirability or otherwise of Visalandhra.

After the police action of September 1948, Hyderabad State was placed under the military government of Major J. N. Choudhary. In 1949, it was replaced by a civilian government headed by M. K. Vellodi, ICS In 1950, four representatives of the State Congress were inducted into the administration as ministers. After the police action, the menace of the Razakars was removed, but the revolt of the Communists continued. The Government of India had to deploy armed forces in Telangana to suppress the revolt.

By 1951, the Communists realised their failure and agreed to give up their violence. Thereupon, the ban on the Communist Party was lifted and in the 1952 elections, the Communists contested many seats in Telangana. In the elections, the Congress was returned to power because of its good showing in the other regions of the State, namely, the Marathi speaking Marathwada and the Kannada speaking Hyderabad-Kamataka. Even though the Congress did not secure a majority in Telangana, still the Congress High Command wanted the popular ministry in Hyderabad to be headed by a Telugu man, since Telugus formed more than 50 per cent of the State's population. As a result, B. Ramakrishna Rao became the Chief Minister.

After the police action, the demand for Visalandhra gained ground in the Circar districts. In November 1949, A. Kaleswara Rao formed the Visalandhra Mahasabha at Vijayawada. Slowly, the demand for Visalandhra gained acceptance even in Telangana. Towards the end of 1949, C. Rajagopalachari, the Governor-General of India, visited Hyderabad and favoured the continuance of the State as a multi-lingual unit. It will be remembered, by the end of 1949, everyone was hoping that a separate Andhra province would be formed before the new constitution came into force in January 1950. By expressing himself against the dismemberment of Hyderabad State, perhaps Rajagopalachari wanted to deny the future Andhra State a sizable territory and also a good capital city Hyderabad. The A.P.C.C. took note of this "unprogressive attitude" and hoped that in due course Visalandhra would be formed with Hyderabad city as capital.[1]

When the AICC met at Bangalore in July 1951, Kaleswara Rao raised the question of Visalandhra, but he was snubbed by Nehru not to indulge in "loose talk". In the elections of 1952, the Communists registered impressive victories, both in Andhra and Telangana. In October 1953, when Andhra State was formed, the Communists were prevented from forming the ministry due to the support of the K.L.P. and P.S.P. to the Congress. The Communists felt that in Visalandhra they would have better chances of capturing power, and intensified the demand for Visalandhra.

After the appointment of the S.R.C., the demand for Visalandhra received a big boost. Immediately, the protagonists of separate Telangana intensified their demand. K. V. Ranga Reddy, the President of the Hyderabad State Congress Committee and his nephew, Dr. M. Chenna Reddy, though originally favoured Visalandhra, changed their stand and became very articulate in their support for separate Telangana.

The S.R.C. visited Hyderabad in June-July 1954 and heard the views of different organisations and individuals and received a memoranda from them. The Commission submitted its report on 30 September, 1955.

1. *The Indian Express* (Madras), 4 January, 1950.

The Commission recommended the disintegration of the Hyderabad State since "public sentiment, both within and without the State, is overwhelming and insistent on the need for the disintegration of the State." It also added that:

> We are not impressed by the claim that during the last two hundred years a specific Deccan culture has developed in the whole area and that this culture is a major contribution to the unity of India. The common culture of Hyderabad, like the unity of this state, is something that has been imposed from above.[2]

Having recommended the disintegration of Hyderabad State, the Commission suggested the incorporation of the Kannada speaking districts of the State with Mysore State and the Marathi speaking districts with Bombay State.

The Commission summed up the advantage of Visalandhra thus:

> The advantages of a large Andhra State including Telangana are that it will bring into existence a State of about 32 million with a considerable hinterland, with large water and power resources, adequate mineral wealth and valuable raw materials. This will also solve the difficult and vexing problem of finding a permanent capital for Andhra, for the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad are very well suited to be the capital of Visalandhra.[3]
>
> Another advantage of the formation of Visalandhra will be that the development of the Krishna and Godavari rivers will thereby be brought under unified control. The Krishna and Godavari projects rank amongst the most ambitious in India. They have been formulated after a prolonged period of inactivity, during which, for various technical and administrative reasons, only anicuts in the delta area have been built. Complete unification of either the Krishna or the Godavari valley is not, of course possible. But if one independent political jurisdiction, namely, that of Telangana, can be eliminated, the formation and implementation of plans in the eastern areas in these two great river basins will be greatly expedited. Since Telangana, as part of Visalandhra, will benefit both directly and indirectly from the development, there is a great deal to be said for its amalgamation with the Andhra States.[4]
>
> The Economic affiliations of Telangana with the existing Andhra State are also not unimportant. Telangana has in years of scarcity a sizable deficit in food supplies. The existing Andhra State however, has normally a surplus which Telangana may be able to use. The existing State of Andhra, likewise, has no coal, but will be able to get its supplies

2. S.R.C. Report, 1955, para 364.
3. Ibid., p. 104, para 371.
4. Ibid., p. 104, para 372.

from Singareni. Telangana will also be able to save a great deal of expenditure on general administration in case it is not established as a separate unit.[5]

The creation of Visalandhra is an ideal to which numerous individuals and public bodies, both in Andhra and Telangana, have been passionately attached over a long period of time, and unless there are strong reasons to the contrary, this sentiment is entitled to consideration.[6]

Regarding Telangana, the Commission made the following observations:

The case for Visalandhra thus rests on arguments which are impressive. The considerations which have been urged in favour of a separate Telangana State are, however, not such as may be lightly brushed aside.[7]

The existing Andhra State has faced a financial problem of some magnitude ever since it was created; and in comparison with Telangana, the existing Andhra State has low per capita revenue. Telangana on the other hand is much less likely to be faced with financial embarrassment. The much higher incidence of land revenue in Telangana and an excise revenue of the order of Rs. 5 crores per annum principally explains this difference. Whatever explanation may be, some Telangana leaders seem to fear that the result of unification will be to exchange some settled sources of revenue, out of which development schemes may be financed, for financial uncertainty similar to that with which Andhra is now faced. Telangana claims to be progressive and from an administrative point of view, unification, it is contended is not likely to confer any benefits on this area.[8]

When plans for future development are taken into account Telangana fears that the claims of this area may not receive adequate consideration in Visalandhra. The Nandikonda and Kushtapuram (Godavari) projects are, for example, among the most important which Telangana or the country as a whole has undertaken. Irrigation in the Coastal deltas of these two rivers is, however, also being planned. Telangana, therefore does not wish to lose its present independent rights in relation to the utilisation of the waters of the Krishna and Godavari.[9]

One of the principal causes of opposition of Visalandhra also seems to be the apprehension felt by the educationally backward people of Telangana that they may be swamped and exploited by the more advanced people of the Coastal area. In the Telangana districts outside the city of Hyderabad, education is woefully backward. The result is

5. Ibid., p. 104–105. para 373.
6. Ibid., p. 105, para 374.
7. Ibid., p. 105, para 375.
8. Ibid., p. 105, para 376.
9. Ibid., p. 105, para 377.

that a lower qualification than in Andhra is accepted for public service. The real fear of the people of Telangana is that if they join Andhra, they will be unequally placed in relation to the people of Andhra and in this partnership the major partner will derive all the advantages immediately, while Telangana itself may be converted into a colony by the enterprising Coastal Andhras.[10]

After examining the case of Visalandhra and separate Telangana, the Commission felt that "the advantages of the formation of Visalandhra are obvious" and that "nothing should be done to impede the realization of the goal".[11]

But it came to the conclusion that:

It will be in the interest of Andhra as well as Telangana, if, for the present, the Telangana area is constituted into a separate State, which may be known as the Hyderabad State, with the provision that its unification with Andhra after the General elections likely to be held in or about 1961, if by a two-thirds majority the legislature of the residuary Hyderabad State expresses itself in favour of unification. The State of Hyderabad (as we should prefer to call this unit) to be constituted for the time being, should consist of the following districts, namely, Mahubnagar, Nalgonda, Warangal including Khammam, Karimnagar, Adilabad, Nizamabad, Hyderabad, Medak and Bidar and the Munagala enclave in the Nalgonda district belonging to the Krishna districts of the existing Andhra State.[12]

Gentlemen's Agreement

The S.R.C. report favouring the creation of Telangana led to intensive lobbying by both the advocates of Telangana and Visalandhra. The Communists reacted quickly and announced that they would resign their seats and contest the elections on that issue. Telangana Congressmen also joined the issue. K. V. Ranga Reddi and M. Chenna Reddi hailed the recommendation of the S.R.C. But a majority of the Congress legislators from Telangana and 7 out of 10 District Congress Committees supported Visalandhra. In the Hyderabad Legislative Assembly, the issue was raised. In the 174 member house, 147 members expressed their views. Of these, 103 supported Visalandhra, only 29 wanted Telangana and 15 remained neutral.[13] In Andhra, almost all leaders favoured Visalandhra. Only Ranga on an earlier occasion opposed Visalandhra.

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10. Ibid., p. 105, para 378.
11. Ibid., p. 106, para 382.
12. Ibid., p. 108.
13. *The Indian Express* (Madras), 5 December, 1955.

The recommendations of the S.R.C. were not well received by the public. Except Kerala and Mysore, all other regions were sore as their expectations were not fulfilled. In many parts of the country the adverse public reaction led to violence. Many doubted the wisdom of having linguistic States. The Chief Ministers of West Bengal and Bihar suggested the merger of their States to form one bilingual unit. Many hailed their decision as the right step to preserve the unity of the country. In the South, C. Rajagopalachari floated the idea of Dakshina Pradesh by merging Madras State, Kerala and Mysore. These suggestions provoked further violent reactions in different parts of the country. The Congress High Command was taken aback. It disowned the idea of bilingual and multi-lingual States as quickly as it had accepted it

Finally, the Congress High Command accepted Visalandhra. Their decision was partly influenced by the arguments of Hyderabad State in favour of Visalandhra. The hardcore Telangana protagonists like K. V. Ranga Reddi and M. Chenna Reddi, however, stuck to their demand for separate Telangana. In order to prevent misunderstanding between the two regions of Andhra and Telangana, the Congress High Command arranged a meeting of the leaders of the regions at Delhi on 20 February, 1956.

Andhra was represented by B. Gopala Reddy (the Chief Minister of Andhra State), N. Sanjiva Reddy, G. Latchanna (Ministers of Andhra) and

A. Satyanarayana Raju, President of A.P.C.C. Telangana was represented by B. Ramakrishna Rao (Chief Minister of Hyderabad State), K. V. Ranga Reddy, M. Chenna Reddy (Ministers of Hyderabad State) and J. V. Narasinga Rao, President of the Hyderabad Congress Committee. The meeting resulted in an agreement over the formation of Visalandhra by providing certain safeguards to Telangana.

All the eight participants affixed their signatures to the accord, popularly known as "Gentlemen's Agreement". It will be seen that all the eight members belonged to the Congress party and no non-Congress leader was associated with the agreement.

Terms of the Agreement

1. The expenditure on the Central and general administration of the State should be borne proportionately by the regions and the balance of income from Telangana should be reserved for expenditure on the development of Telangana area. The arrangement will be reviewed after five years and can be continued for another five years if the Telangana members of the Assembly so desire.
2. Prohibition in Telangana should be implemented in the manner decided upon by Assembly members of Telangana.

3. Existing educational facilities in Telangana should be secured to the students of Telangana and further improved. Admission in technical institutions in Telangana to be restricted to the students of Telangana or they should have 1/3rd seats in the whole of the State, whichever is more favourable to Telangana.
4. Retrenchment in services should be proportionate from both regions if it becomes inevitable due to integration.
5. Future recruitment to services should be on the basis of the population of the regions.
6. The position of Urdu in the administrative and judicial structure existing in Telangana may continue for five years when the Regional Council will review the position. For recruitment to services, knowledge of Telugu should not be insisted upon but they should pass a prescribed Telugu test in two years after appointment.
7. Some kind of domicile rules, e.g., residence for 12 years should be provided in order to assure the prescribed proportion to recruitment of services from Telangana area.
8. Sale of agricultural land in Telangana area to be controlled by the Regional Council.
9. A Regional Council to be set up for Telangana for its all-round development.
10. The Regional Council to have 20 members, 9 members from MLA, one of each district elected by district's members separately. 6 members of the Assembly or Parliament elected by Telangana MLAs, 5 members from outside elected by Telangana will be members.
11. Regional Council will be a Statutory body empowered to deal with and decide about:
    a) Matters mentioned above and those relating to planning and development, within the general plan and recruitment of services in so far they relate to Telangana area. If there is a difference of opinion between Regional Council and the State Government, reference may be made to Government of India for final decision.
    b) Unless revised earlier by agreement, this agreement will be reviewed at the end of ten years.
12. Cabinet Ministers should be in proportion to 60:40. Out of Telangana Ministers, one will be a Muslim.
13. If the Chief Minister is from Andhra, Deputy Chief Minister should be from Telangana and vice-versa. Two out of the following five portfolios should go to Telangana, viz., (a) Home; (b) Finance; (c) Revenue; (d) Planning and Development; and (e) Commerce and Industry.

14. President, Hyderabad Congress Committee, wanted separate P.C.C. for Telangana up to 1962, A.P.C.C. President has no objection.[14]

From the above it will be seen that the Andhra leaders went more than halfway to meet the genuine demands of Telangana people. The Government of India gave statutory support to the provisions of the Agreement by incorporating them in the State Re-organisation Act. In the draft bill the new State was named Andhra-Telangana. Andhra leaders raised objection to the name as it underlined the difference between the two regions, so the joint select committee amended it as "Andhra Pradesh".

On 1 November, 1956, Nehru inaugurated the new State. Sanjiva Reddy became the first Chief Minister and C. M. Trivedi the first Governor.

The Borders of Andhra Pradesh

Andhra laid claims on the outlying Telugu territories in Orissa, Madhya Pradesh, Tamil Nadu and Karnataka. These States, in turn, claimed certain areas in Andhra.

Andhra and Orissa

When Orissa was formed, in 1936 some of the Telugu majority areas of Ganjam district and Visakhapatnam district were tagged on to that province. From that time onwards, Andhras of those regions began to agitate for the re-inclusion of those areas in Andhra, as they were not happy with their position in Orissa. The Dar Commission took note of this and pointed out:

> One thing is certain. The Telugus, who have been transferred to Orissa are very unhappy and their condition is the best illustration of the spirit of intolerance which linguistic provinces breed and of the danger which lurks behind them.[15]

As far as Ganjam district was concerned, Andhra laid claim to (1) A coastal belt about 40 miles long and 10 to 15 miles broad, by the side of the Bay of Bengal. (2) The plain portion of the Parlakimedi estate, including the town of Parlakimedi. As regards Koraput district, they claimed the whole of it on the grounds of "trading affiliations" with some parts of the State. S.R.C. rejected Andhra claim to Koraput district saying that:

> Koraput is a district in which the Oriya majority is absolute . . . and there is no case for regarding it as an Andhra area. The trading affiliation are also not such as to justify the disturbance of the existing position.[16]

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14. Text of the Agreement taken from *Regionalism in India*, by G. R. S. Rao, (New Delhi), 1975, pp. 136–137.
15. Report of the Dar Commission, para 30.
16. S.R.C. Report, para 740.

The Commission rejected the Andhra claims on Ganjam district stating that:

> The Parlakimedi pocket was considered together with the Parlakimedi hill areas at the time that this portion was transferred to Orissa, and although the main ground for this transfer was that the preference of the Raja of Parlakimedi for Orissa deserved to be considered with sympathy, the transfer was also justified on linguistic grounds. The Berhampore tract was likewise established at that time to be clearly within the area of Oriya influence. There is little reason to upset these decisions now.[17]

The Commission further stated that:

> In the entire district of Ganjam of which these two areas form part, Oriya is the predominant language and Telugu is spoken only by about 15 per cent of people.[17]

Here it may be stated that the Andhras never claimed the entire district of Ganjam. Their claims were confined only to two talukas of Berhampore and Parlakimedi, where the Telugus predominate. It may not be out of place to mention here that at the time of the formation of Orissa in 1936, Telugus were in a majority in Berhampore. It was included in Orissa as South Orissa lacked a suitable headquarters town. Likewise Parlakimedi, which had an overwhelming Telugu majority, was included in Orissa to satisfy the whims of the Oriya Raja of Parlakimedi.

The Oriyas, in their counter claim on Andhra, demanded areas in Srikakulam district right up to the Vamsadhara river. The S.R.C. turned down this claim as "the Telugu majority in Srikakulam district, from which portions have been claimed for Orissa, is as high as 89 per cent.[18]

Andhra and Karnataka

For the purpose of settling the claims of different regions, the Commission stated that it had adopted "the district as the basic unit for making territorial re-adjustment".[19]

Kolar district of Karnataka had a Telugu majority of 54 per cent while the Kannada speaking population was only 21 per cent. Normally, the Commission ought not to have recommended its retention in Mysore.

Regarding Bellary, the Commission accepted the plea of the Andhra Government for its inclusion in Andhra State. The Commission commented that:

There seems to be great deal of force in contention put forward on behalf of the Andhra Government that in view of the communication and other

17. Ibid., para 741.
18. Ibid., para 742.
19. Ibid., para 744.

links of Bellary with the rest of Rayalaseema and the dependence of Bellary town on the existing Andhra rather than Mysore in the matter of trade and commerce, these talukas have much closer relation with the Andhra State than with Mysore. Bellary was administered as a part of the composite State of Madras for more than one hundred and fifty years, during which it had developed into a sort of unofficial capital for the entire Rayalaseema area.[20]

Further, it said:

> Bellary town continues to be connected with all the district headquarters of Rayalaseema by rail and road and it is nearer to Kurnool than to Bangalore. To reach Bangalore by rail from Bellary, the shortest route lies only through Andhra territory.[21, 22]

The Government of India did not accept the recommendation and retained Bellary in Mysore. In both ways Andhra was the loser.

Andhra and Madhya Pradesh

Andhra laid claims to the southern portion of Bastar on the grounds that Telugu was the spoken language of that area. Other arguments adduced for its inclusion in Andhra were the trade affiliations of the area with Andhra and that administratively it used to be part of the former upper Godavari district. The Commission was not impressed by Andhra arguments and allowed its retention with Madhya Pradesh. The Government of India accepted the recommendation. As far as the Sironcha taluka of Chanda district was concerned, even though it had a Telugu majority of 51.2 per cent, the Commission did not recommend its transfer to Telangana with which it was contiguous.

Andhra and Tamil Nadu

The border disputes of Andhra with Tamil Nadu was left to the arbitration of H. V. Pataskar, by the Chief Minister of the State. Pataskar recommended the inclusion of a large part of Tiruttani taluka of Chittoor District of Andhra with Tamil Nadu. Similarly, a large portion of Ponneri and Tiruvallur talukas of Tamil Nadu were included in Andhra Pradesh. His recommendation was accepted.

In the south-west of Tamil Nadu in the Dharmapuri district, Telugus were in a majority in Hosur taluka. Pataskar did not recommend its inclusion in Andhra as it was not geographically contiguous to Andhra. Thus, by losing Kolar, Andhra lost Hosur also.

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20. Ibid, para 291.
21. Ibid., para 334.
22. Ibid.

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COMMUNIST PARTIES AND REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE

By the end of 1945, the Communist parties of Andhra (in the Madras Presidency) and Telangana (in the State of Hyderabad) became cadre based parties. They enlarged their influence from the grassroot level, working through their front organisations like Ryth Sangam and Andhra Mahasabha, respectively.

The infiltration of the Communists into the Nizam Andhra Mahasabha began when Ravi Narayana Reddi was elected President of the Bhuvanagiri Session of the Andhra Mahasabha in 1944. The Communists initially utilised the youth forum of Hyderabad called "Comrades Association" to brainwash the young intelligentsia of Hyderabad city. They also tried to involve the students and the industrial labour in their activities. Maqdum Mohinuddin, Dr. Raj Bahadur Goud, Sambamurty, Linga Reddi and Srinivasa Lahoti utilised their entire time and energies to build up trade union organisations in the Hyderabad city.

The Andhra Communist Party, which was guiding the destinies of the Communists in Telangana, however, realised that the Communists could become a force to be reckoned with only if they concentrated on villages where feudalistic abuses were rampant. The Andhra Communist Party, sent one of its able organisers, N. V. K. Prasad, to guide the left oriented workers of the Nizam Andhra Mahasabha. The leading members of the Andhra Sabha with leftist leanings, like Ravi Narayana Reddy, Baddam Yella Reddi, V. Alwar Swamy, Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao, developed close personal contacts with Andhra Communist leaders like P. Sundarayya, Chandra Rajeswara Rao and M. Basavapunnaiah.

The Communist Party of the State of Hyderabad came into existence in 1939. The Andhra Communist leader, Chandra Rajeswara Rao, conducted the "School of Politics" in Telangana. He also attended the Bhuvanagiri Session of the Andhra Mahasabha and formulated plans to involve the peasants of Telangana in the activities of the Andhra Mahasabha, by championing their problems arising out of the compulsory "levy of paddy".

During the Second World War, the Government of Hyderabad, in order to overcome the shortage of food, introduced a system called compulsory levy of paddy from the peasants. Under this system, every cultivator was forced to sell to the Government a certain amount of paddy at a fixed price. The big Jagirdars escaped this levy system due to their power and influence. Only the small and marginal farmers were forced to submit to this system of levy, which led to many abuses. The government officials forced the small farmers to bring the levy paddy to government market yards at their own expense. Secondly, in weighing the paddy and disbursing money towards the payment of levy paddy, the officials indulged in many malpractices. The Communists highlighted these difficulties of the small farmers of the villages and also the troubles and sufferings of the middle class people in towns to secure rice and other essential commodities from the "ration shops". The Communists, through their cultural front organisation called Praja Natya Mandali, revived an old cultural entertainment called *Burra Katha*. By means of Burra Kathas, which became immensely popular both in villages and towns, the Communists succeeded in propagating their ideology effectively.

After the Bhuvanagiri Session in 1944, branches of the Andhra Mahasabha were established in many villages of the Nalgonda and Warangal districts. The branches were popularly known as "Sangams" or associations. In the Janagama taluka, Arutla Ramachandra Reddi, a worker of the Andhra Mahasabha, successfully conducted a campaign of the peasants against the atrocities of the local landlord Visunuru Ramachandra Reddi, who owned more than 10,000 acres of land. This was the beginning of the peasant revolt against the landlords, which later became famous as the Telangana Armed Struggle (1946–1951).

On 4 July, 1946, there was a great clash between the workers of the Andhra Mahasabha and hirelings of Visunuru Ramachandra Reddi. In this clash, the hirelings shot dead two peasants—Doddi Mallayya and Mangali Komarayya. The Communists retaliated violence with violence. This incident heralded the beginning of revolutionary violence in Andhra by the Communist parties.

The death of Komarayya enraged the peasantry of Telangana and they rose in revolt against the Jagirdars and Deshmukhs (local landlords). The peasant uprising of Janagama soon spread to other areas like Bhuvanagiri, Suryapeta, Ramannapeta and Hujur Nagar talukas of Nalgonda District.

The feudal landlords and the Nizam's Government were taken aback by the intensity of the movement. At this crucial juncture, i.e., July 1946, when India was on the threshold of freedom, the hands of the Nizam's Government were full with other affairs. It was hatching plans to declare its independence and convert the State to a bastion of Muslim power in the heart of India. Naturally, it did not pay much heed to the developments in the

interior villages of the State. The Communists fully exploited the situation to their advantage. By championing the cause of peasants, they became popular with the masses who were, incidentally, all Hindus. The Deshmukhs who looked upon the Nizam's Government for protection became traitors and quislings in the eyes of the people. At one stroke, the Communists became the saviours not only of the landless peasants, but the entire Hindu community.

The fight of the Telangana peasants against the Deshmukhs in the villages of Akunuru and Machireddipalli attracted the attention of the leaders of the entire country, including Mahatma Gandhi, who asked Miss Padmaja Naidu to send him the details of these incidents.

Creation of Dalams

The Communists were overwhelmed at the response of the peasants. They immediately tried to consolidate their gains by forming what were called "Dalams" in villages and hamlets. Each Dalam consisted of 20 to 30 committed party workers who were prepared to commit *harakiri* for propagating the party ideology. They were not only politically indoctrinated but given training in the use of firearms and also lessons in first aid and nursing. Another interesting development was the support of women and the tribals to the Sangam, i.e., the workers of the Andhra Mahasabha and the Communists.

While the Telangana Communists were launching their campaign against the feudal landlords in the Warangal (including the present Khammam district) and Nalgonda districts, the Andhra Communists in the adjoining districts of Krishna and Guntur of the Madras Presidency intensified their activities among landless labourers. Further, they became very popular among the urban middle class by vociferously championing the cause of the establishment of a separate Andhra province. Thus, both in the Telangana and Andhra regions of the undivided Andhra Pradesh, the Communists succeeded in creating for themselves an image of martyrs and heroes.

Ban on the Communist Party

The spread of the struggle of the Telangana peasants of the Nalgonda and Warangal districts to other districts like Karim Nagar awakened the Nizam's Government to the gravity of the situation in the Telegana region of the State. So, in October 1946, it began a sudden swoop on the Communist leaders and succeeded in arresting the second rank leaders like V. Alwar Swamy and others. But the top-ranking leaders like Ravi Narayana Reddi and Venkateswara Rao succeeded in eluding the police. In the same month, the Nizam's Government established armed camps in the disturbed regions of Nalgonda and Warangal districts to contain the Communist violence. Finding

that things had become too hot for them, the Andhra Mahasabha and the Communist parties shifted their headquarters to Vijayawada. In November 1946, the Communist Party was formally banned by the Nizam's Government

The ban on the Communist party and the establishment of armed camps in the villages by the Government convinced the Communists of the inevitability of the armed struggle with the Government to establish their ideology. They concentrated their attention on securing firearms and evolving a new strategy to fight the combined forces of the feudal lords and the unpopular Government of the Nizam. For the time being, they thought it prudent to lie low before launching the final assault on the forces which they deemed as reactionary.

The lull in the movement in the early months of 1947 gave the impression to the Government that the movement had fizzled out. So it withdrew the armed forces from the villages and indulged in its fanciful dream of establishing an independent sovereign Muslim state of Hyderabad.

Movement for Integration with India

When India attained freedom on 15 August, 1947, the Seventh Nizam of Hyderabad, Mir Osman Alikhan (1911–48), declared that his State would remain outside the Indian Union and also the dominion of Pakistan. Naturally, this declaration disturbed the overwhelming majority of the population who wanted the State to join India. For achieving this objective, a popular movement known as "Join India Movement" was started by the Hyderabad State Congress under the leadership of Swami Ramananda Tirtha.

Meanwhile, the blatantly communal organisation called Ittehad-ul-Muslimeen, under the leadership of a fanatic, Kasim Razvi, created a para-military wing called "Razakars" to terrorise the Hindus and indulged in many acts of violence. The Congress party was unable to counteract the activities of the Razakars openly. The harassment of the Razakars became unbearable in the villages, where for all practical purposes they ran the Government. The State Congress party, which was mainly urban based, was unable to render any help to the harassed villagers. The villagers naturally looked to the Communists, who had earlier championed their causes. The Communists immediately rushed to the villages to rescue the people from the depredation of the Razakaras. The Dalams of the Communists were more than a match for the armed Razakars. Naturally, the villagers regarded the Communists as their saviours. The Communists, by gaining the sympathy and support of the villagers, tried to foster their ideology among the masses.

Call for Armed Struggle

The Communists realised that the time was ripe to take over the Government by armed struggle. They had already succeeded in amassing

large quantities of arms and ammunition. At the same time, the Nizam of Hyderabad was also spending a fortune to secure arms from all parts of the globe to realise his cherished dream of independent Muslim Hyderabad. While the Nizam's Government was trying to get military hardware like tanks, machine guns, military aeroplanes, etc., the Communists amassed large quantities of rifles and guns. It is interesting, in this connection, to note that the Razakars and the Nizam's Government were hoodwinked about the activities of the Communists in procuring arms in the mistaken belief that they would be used against the Government of India. The decision for armed struggle by the Communists was mainly taken by leaders like Ravi Narayana Reddi and P. Sundarayya. After taking this decision, the Communists no longer functioned under the twin organisations of the Communist Party and the Andhra Mahasabha. The front organisation Andhra Mahasabha was discarded in April 1947 and the armed struggle was carried in the name of the Communist Party.

Triple Strategy

The Communists decided to launch their struggle on the basis of a triple strategy. First, they created guerrilla squads to launch simultaneous attacks on the homes of landlords, money-lenders and the police stations. Second, they created "Grama Rakshaka Dalams" or village protection forces consisting of the sympathisers of the party to fight the harassment of the Razakars. Thirdly, "Vidhvamsaka Dalam" or Destruction Squads were created. The objective of these squads was to watch the movements of the Razakars, the police and military forces of the Nizam. The main objective of this squad was to destroy the bridges and culverts to hamper the movement of the Government forces and the Razakars, who usually travelled in jeeps and other motor vehicles. The Communists, on the other hand, travelled only on foot as they were well versed with the entire topography of the region.

After formulating their strategy, the Communists created separate squads for each of the eight districts of Telangana. But the main scene of the activity was confined to the districts of Nalgonda and Warangal. These two districts were selected for a variety of reasons. Firstly, in these two districts the party was well organised from the taluka to the village level. Secondly, they were adjacent to Krishna and Guntur districts of the Madras Presidency where the party was equally popular. Moreover, it was easy to indulge in hit-and-run tactics there as the terrain consisted of many hills and jungles, and more important, the Girijans (or the tribals) were sympathetically inclined towards the Communists.

The arms and ammunition needed for the struggle were collected from places like Vijayawada, which the Communists boasted of as their Stalingrad.

The Andhra Communist leaders P. Sundarayya and M. Basavapunnaiah acted in concert with the Telangana leaders like Ravi Narayana Reddi and Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao. The funds for the party came from public donations, which were collected after enacting the very popular play called "Ma Bhoomi" (Our Land) by the Praja Natya Mandali, the cultural front-organisation of the party.

The immense success of the play and the growing influence of the Communist Party in the Telugu districts of the Madras Presidency prompted the Madras Government to impose a ban both on the Communist Party as well on the play Ma Bhoomi. Many leaders like Tammareddi Satyanarayana, who was the Secretary of the Andhra unit of the Communist Party of India, acted as the regional leaders of the guerrilla squads. All these facts emphasise the nature of the Telangana Struggle, that is, it was the concerted action of the leaders of both the units of the Communist Party of India in Telangana and Andhra.

In the beginning of the struggle, i.e., in the early months of 1947, Ravi Narayana Reddi used to stay mostly in Vijayawada and used to launch attacks on the police stations of the Paritala, Meenavolu villages of Hyderabad State, situated on the borders of the Krishna district. By these attacks, the Communists succeeded in acquiring arms and ammunition.

As a result of these attacks, the authority of the Nizam's Government came to an end in as many as 4,000 villages. All the Government officials, landlords and money-lenders fled from these villages and took refuge in cities like Warangal and Hyderabad.

Establishment of Village Government and Distribution of Land

After taking hold of the villages from the yoke of the Nizam's Government and the Razakars, the Communists began to implement their programme. The lands of the Jagirdars were distributed among the landless peasants and the debts contracted by the peasants with the village money-lenders were annulled. In other words, the Communists succeeded in establishing their rule in 4,000 "vimukta gramalu" or "liberated villages".

Police Action

The State of Hyderabad was liberated from the rule of the Nizam by the "police action" of the Government of India in September 1948. After this action, Maj. Gen. J. N. Chaudhari was appointed as the Military Governor. Kasim Razvi, the Razakar leader ,was arrested and law-and-order was re-established in Hyderabad city and other urban areas of the State. After the police action, many of the Communist leaders went underground to intensify the movement to establish Communist rule by force. So the Government

of India deployed armed forces to contain the spread of communism.

The Communist struggle in Telangana continued till September 1951. After realising the futility of establishing Communist rule by force, the party gave up the armed struggle and agreed to participate in the democratic process of the country. The ban on the Communist Party was lifted and they were allowed to participate in political activities through constitutional methods. Ravi Narayana Reddi, who was arrested in September 1951, was released on 5 December, 1951, to participate in the first General Elections under the new Constitution of India.

First General Elections, 1952

In the first General Elections, held in 1952, the Communist Party succeeded in winning all the 14 Assembly seats in Nalgonda district. Ravi Narayana Reddi was elected to the Lok Sabha from Nalgonda Parliamentary Constituency and to the Hyderabad Assembly from the Bhuvanagiri constituency. For the Parliamentary seat of Nalgonda, he was elected with more than 3 lakhs of votes. No other candidate in the country, including Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, got such a huge majority. Ravi Narayana Reddi decided to retain his seat in the Lok Sabha. So he resigned his seat in the Hyderabad Assembly from Bhuvanagiri.

Ideology of the Telangana Struggle

The Communist Party of India (CPI) was guided in its activities from Moscow by the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union). CPI uncritically accepted the dictates from Moscow and it had no hesitation in labelling the Second World War as People's War. The central leadership of the CPI, led by P. C. Joshi, believed in the CPSU thesis of the emergence of communism through the revolt of the urban proletariat. At the time when the Telangana Struggle started in 1946, the Communists had not captured power in China. The Telangana Struggle was started by the Andhra and Telangana Communist leaders without any direction from the central leadership, which already started following the Soviet line of action. The Andhra Communists, whose political base was in the villages among the landless labourers, drew inspiration from Mao's eassy "On New Democracy". The early success of the Telangana Struggle surprised the central leadership of the CPI and they, in the second party congress, held in February-March 1948, "saluted the heroes of Telangana" and vowed to "make Telangana path India's path".

After the establishment of the Communist rule in China in 1949, the CPSU also hailed the Telangana Struggle as the "first attempt at creating People's Democracy in India and harbinger of agrarian revolution". However, there was a change in the attitude of the Soviet Union towards Nehru's

Government from the beginning of 1950. As it wanted to develop friendly relations with the Indian Government, it advised the CPI to withdraw the Telangana Struggle. Moreover, the Andhra Communists themselves realised that after the police action in Hyderabad, the majority of the people of the State were more favourably inclined towards the Indian National Congress led by Nehru and Patel. As a matter of fact, Sardar Patel was regarded as the liberator of Hyderabad State from the oppressive Muslim rule of the Nizam.

In December 1950, when the CPI Central Committee was reconstituted, there were very few members who supported Mao's thesis. Chandra Rajeswara Rao, who was one of the important leaders of the Telangana Struggle, had to resign his position as Secretary of the CPI in May 1951 and was succeeded by Ajoy Ghosh, who espoused the Soviet revolutionary path as against the Chinese line of action. The Telangana Struggle was formally withdrawn and this heralded a new phase in the movement of the Indian Communists.

Communist Movement After 1952

After the withdrawal of the Telangana Struggle in 1951, the Communists in Andhra and Telangana regions participated in the first General Elections held in 1952 and did well in both the regions. As a matter of fact, in both the regions they captured more seats than the Indian National Congress. They were convinced that they would be in a position to form their Government if the Telugu regions of both Madras State and the State of Hyderabad were brought under one administration. So they intensified their agitation for the formation of Visalandhra or Greater Andhra. The demand for the creation of the separate Andhra State, which began in 1913, reached its climax when Potti Sriramulu fasted unto death in December 1952. The Government of India was forced to create the separate Andhra State on 1 October, 1953.

In the Andhra Assembly, the Communists held 41 seats as against 40 held by the Indian National Congress. But the Congress was able to form the government with T. Prakasam as the Chief Minister. Prakasam's ministry could not survive for more than a year. So mid-term elections were held for the Andhra Assembly in 1955. In this election, the Communists were completely routed and they could secure only 15 out of 196 Assembly seats. The Congress was able to secure an absolute majority.

There were many reasons for the debacle of the Communists. With the formation of the Andhra State, the emotional urge of the Andhras was fulfilled. The Communists could no longer rouse the Andhra emotions. Secondly, the Congress leaders exploited the lurking fears in the minds of the people that the Communists were wedded to violence, and they might repeat the Telangana Struggle in Andhra area also. Thirdly, there was a

shift in the policy of the USSR towards India. The Soviet Union began to develop friendly relations with the Government of India. This forced the CPI to support Nehru's government.

The visit of Bulganin and Khrushchev to India in 1956 further strengthened the newly developed friendly relations between the Soviet Union and India. So the CPI, at its Palghat Congress in 1956, adopted a friendly attitude towards the Nehru Government. But their policy was not liked by many Andhra Communist leaders like Sundarayya and Basavapunnaiah. The CPI was no longer a monolithic organisation. There were two main factions in the CPI, one supporting the Soviet line of action, while the other favoured the strategy of the Chinese Communists. At the Vijayawada Session of the CPI in 1961, the differences between the two factions were further intensified.

The Sino-Indian War of 1962 publicly exposed the factional fight among the two groups in the CPI. The Chairman of the CPI, S. A. Dange, strongly denounced China and offered unstinted support to the Nehru Government. Those Communists who were suspected to be the sympathisers of China were arrested. Meanwhile, differences between Chinda and Soviet Union became acute. The CPI could not remain unaffected by these developments and finally CPI was split into two factions known as CPI and CPI (M) (Marxist).

The split in the CPI had its repercussions on the Communist movement in Adhra Pradesh. Leaders like Sundarayya and Basavapunaiah identified themselves with the CPI (M), while Rajeswara Rao and Ravi Narayana Reddi remained with the CPI. It will be an oversimplification of facts to say that the CPI supported the Soviet Union and CPI (M) supported China. In 1967, China denounced CPI (M) leaders like E. M. S. Nambudiripad as revisionists. The CPI (M), in its turn, accused the CPC (Communist Party of China) of interfering in the affairs of the fraternal parties and also condemned the revolutionary violence of the Communists of Naxalbari[1] in West Bengal as "adventurist" and "anti-Marxist".

There was a further split in the Communist ranks on 1 May, 1969, when a new splinter group called CPI (M-L) (Marxist-Leninist) came into existence. One of the important leaders of this new group was Tarimela Nagi Reddi, who was then the leader of the opposition in Andhra Pradesh State Assembly. The other important leaders were Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao, Kolia Venkaiah and Chandra Pulla Reddi. All these were formally members

1. Naxalbari: The revoluntionaiy armed struggle led by CPI (M) in the spring of 1967 is popularly known as the Naxalite Movement, since armed struggle first took place at Naxalbari, a small village in the Siliguri sub-division of the Darjeeling district of West Bengal. The district is surrounded by Nepal in the west, Sikkim and Bhutan in the north and Bangladesh in the south. Naxalbari is less than 100 km from the borders of Tibet.

of the CPI(M). This new splinter group tried to propagate its ideology through its short-lived Telugu weekly *Janasakthi.*

As early as November 1967, an attempt was made to iron out the ideological and strategic differences among different splinter groups of the Communists. For this purpose, the All India Co-ordination Committee of the Communist Revolutionaries (AICCCR) was formed. The second meeting of the AICCCR was held again in Calcutta in May 1968. The Nagi Reddi faction of the CPI (M-L) in Andhra did not join the AICCCR, but the leaders of the Srikakulam Tribal Revolt[2] like Panchadi Krishna Murty and Chowdari Tejeswara Rao decided to join AICCCR. Following this, other Andhra CPI (M-L) leaders also joined the AICCCR. In December, the Srikakulam Struggle was intensified. However, the serious differences between Charu Majumdar, CPI (M-L) leader of West Bengal who spearheaded the Naxalbari revolt and Nagi Reddi over the strategy could not be reconciled. Nagi Reddi felt that the time was not ripe for launching an armed struggle. So his group was expelled from the AICCCR in February 1969.

Srikakulam Armed Struggle

Srikakulam is one of the most underdeveloped districts of Andhra Pradesh. Formerly, it formed part of the Ganjam district of the Madras Presidency. When Orissa province was formed in 1936, the area now constituting Srikakulam district was included in the Visakhapatnam district. In 1951, it was constituted into a separate district. The district which has an area of about 7,000 sq km, is bounded on the north by the Ganjam district of Orissa, on the west by Koraput district of Orissa, on the south by Visakhapatnam district and on the east by the Bay of Bengal. The area along the coast of the Bay of Bengal is known as the plains and the area around the Eastern Ghats is known as the Agency area. In the Agency area, there is a large concentration of tribals like Jatapus, Savaras, Gadabas and Khonds. They are popularly called "Girijans", i.e., residents of the hills. The talukas of Parvatipuram, Palakonda and Salur are situated in the Agency area.

The Agency area is rich in forest products like tamarind, honey, kendu leaves (used in the manufacture of beedis, which are a cheap kind of cigarette), besides timber of different varieties. Merchants living in the towns of the plains, like Vijayanagaram, Bobbili and Srikakulam, used to exploit the Girijans by purchasing the above products at ridiculously low prices. Further, they used to purchase lands owned by the tribals. In other words, the Girijans were economically exploited by the tradesmen and money-lenders from the plains.

2. The Srikakulam Tribal Revolt is dealt with in detail in the next section.

Even though the Government of Andhra Pradesh enacted many laws prohibiting the transfer of the land of the Girijans to others, these laws were not enforced effectively. Within a decade, many Girijans were reduced to the status of the landless poor. The headquarters of the district, Srikakulam town, was not connected by rail and it was about 800 km from the State capital, Hyderabad. So, many officials regarded their postings to Srikakulam district as punishment. In popular parlance, Srikakulam became a "punishment area". All officials who were considered to be inefficient or unwanted were posted to Srikakulam district Hence the Government administration in that district became lax when compared to other districts.

None of the political parties except the CPI bestowed attention on the problems of the Girijans of the district. As early as 1959, the CPI initiated the formation of an association called Girijana Sangham. One of the activities of the Sangham was against "Vetti Chakiri" or forced work of the Girijans in the house of rich traders and money-lenders. The CPI thus launched a movement against bonded labour.

In spite of the Girijana Sangham, the plight of the tribals did not improve. With the split in the ranks of the CPI in 1962, the Communist workers of the area were demoralised. The exploitation of the Girijans, which went on unabated, created a sense of revulsion among sensitive educated persons who were appointed as teachers in the Agency area. One such teacher was Vempattu Satyanarayana, popularly known as Satyam.

After the formation of the CPI(M), the activities of the Girijan Sangham, which was moribund since 1962, became suddenly active in 1965. V. Ramalingachari, Secretary of Srikakulam district unit of the CPI(M), organised a conference of the Girijana workers in 1965. In the General Elections of 1967, the Girijana Sangham fielded a candidate to the State Assembly, but he lost to the Congress candidate.

The Naxalbari uprising of 1967 created a tremendous impact on persons like Satyam. Though he was not a member of the SFI (Student Federation of India), a student front-organisation of the CPI, in his school days, he felt convinced that only an armed struggle would solve the problems of the tribals. While working as a teacher in the Parvatipuram Agency area, he noticed that there was intense rivalry among the different tribal groups like Jatapus and Savaras. Satyam, who was able to win the confidence of the tribals by sincere and dedicated work, tried to unite the two groups of Jatapus and Savaras by marrying a girl from each group.

Beginning of the Armed Struggle

In the General Elections of 1967, the CPI(M) failed to win even the Assembly seat reserved for the tribals in Srikakulam district. This defeat, instead of dampening their enthusiasm, spurred them into further action.

Soon after the elections, they intensified their agitation for the distribution of bangjar lands (i.e., the vacant land held by the Government) among the Girijans. Further, they demanded that the entire Agency area should be declared autonomous and adminstered by the representatives elected by the Girijans. They also demanded action against the local landlords who usurped Girijan lands and also the money-lenders. On 31 October, 1967, a meeting was held at a place called Mondemkhal, which was attended by a large number of tribals. After the meeting, when the Girijans were returning home, they were intercepted at a place called Levidi and fired upon by the hirelings of a local landlord, Meditha Satyanarayana, killing two Girijans. This incident naturally caused great commotion among the Girijans and they indulged in violence in places like Kurupam and Seethampeta.

The tribal agitation continued unabated for months together and on 4 March, 1968, the police had to resort to firing at a place called Pedakaraja. This firing also resulted in the death of two Girijans. The CPI (M) exploited this incident to convince the Girijans that they could expect no justice either from the landlords or the Government. They indoctrinated them that violence must be countered by violence. They trained the Girijans in the use of firearms and advocated guerrilla type of warfare. "Vempatapu Satyanarayana became the unchallenged leader of the tribals and masterminded the insurrection."[3]

Nature of the Struggle

Charu Majumdar, the CPI (M) Secretary of the Darjeeling district of West Bengal, who became famous by masterminding the armed insurrection at Naxalbari, established direct links with some of the leaders of the Srikakulam movement like Chaudari Tejeswara Rao and Panchadi Krishna Murty. Here it may be stated that though the Srikakulam movement was originally sponsored by the CPI (M), it was not prepared to intensify the movement further. The ultras in the CPI (M), popularly known as Maoists, were therefore expelled from the CPI (M) in June 1968. Tarimela Nagi Reddi, though he styled himself as a Maoist, did not agree with the line of action suggested by Charu Majumdar. Nagi Reddi believed that the armed struggle, in order to become effective, must be preceded by elaborate military training to the party workers. He felt that the time was not ripe for the Srikakulam uprising. Charu Majumdar, on the other hand, felt the need to intensify the struggle to annihilate class enemies, meaning thereby the landlords and the money-lenders.

The Srikakulam leaders favoured the line of action suggested by Charu Majumdar. They met at a place called Boddapadu on 23–25 October,

3. Police chargesheet in the Parvatipuram Naxalite case quoted in *Revolutionary Violence*, Mohanty, Manoranjan, New Delhi (1977), p. 53.

1968, and decided to intensify the struggle on militant lines. From the end of October 1968 to the middle of 1969, the Srikakulam struggle took the character of an armed revolt.

Towards the end of February 1969, Charu Majumdar visited Andhra to brief the Srikakulam leaders in conducting the campaign. From 28 February to 2 March, 1969, Charu Majumdar and leaders of the Srikakulam movement like Tejeswara Rao, Panchadi Krishna Murty and Mamidi Appala Suri, met at Guttikonda in Guntur district and formed a new Coordination Committee to conduct the struggle more effectively. Vempatapu Satyanarayana was not involved in this Committee since he was not in favour of "annihilation of class enemies" advocated by Charu Majumdar.

Formation of CPI (M-L), April 1969

The ultra revolutionaries in the CPI (M) formed themselves into a new group called CPI (M-L). Kanu Sanyal, one of the heroes of the Naxalbari movement, announced the formation of this new party on 22 April, 1969, the 99th birth anniversary of Lenin. Nagi Reddi did not join this party. He proclaimed his group as the Andhra Pradesh Revolutionary Communist Committee (APRCC) in May 1969.

Mass Involvement

In May 1969, the Srikakulam leaders met at Visakhapatnam and decided to change their tactics by involving a large groups of tribals, running between 500 to 1,000, while indulging in acts of violence like assassinating the "class enemies" publicly.

Satyam and Adhibatla Kailasam, the original leaders of the movement, were the prominet absentees at this conclave since they were not in favour of assassination of individuals.

Concerted Police Action

While the Srikakulam leaders were contemplating to intensify the struggle, the Government of Andhra Pradesh and Orissa, at the instance of the Government of India, decided to counteract the "naxalite menace" by taking concerted action and crush the movement.

Death of Panchadi Kishna Murty, 27 May, 1969

The joint action by the Andhra and Orissa police yielded immediate result when Panchadi Krishna Murty, one of the important leaders of the movement, was killed in an encounter with the police near a tribal village called Jalantrakota on 27 May, 1969.

The death of Panchadi Krishna Murty led to further violence and the Government of Andhra Pradesh had to declare the entire Agency area of Srikakulam district as "disturbed area".

Kanu Sanyal and Souren Bose, the CPI (M-L) leaders of West Bengal, visited Srikakulam district in July 1969 and conferred with Satyam to decide on the future course of action. They decided to form suicide squads called "Dalams" and meet the challenge of the Governmental forces.

Climax of the Movement

The movement reached its climax in July 1969 when more than 300 out of 518 villages in the Agency area came under the control of the Rytanga Sangarshana Samiti, the front-association of the CPI (M-L) in the Agency area. The Samiti constituted Praja Nyayastanams (People's court) to try the money-lenders, landlords and other enemies of the people.

On 4 August, 1969, about 1,000 tribals attacked and killed the landlords in Malliveedu village in the Palakonda taluka. A similar attack was made on the Pedabudidi village on 2 November, 1969. These attacks created panic among the landlords, merchants and money-lenders in the Agency area. They left the Agency area and sought safety in towns like Vijayanagaram and Srikakulam.

These acts of continued violence spurred the police to put down the revolt with a heavy hand. They closely watched the movements of all the Communist leaders and their sympathisers. In Decemebr 1969, the police was able to arrest Tejeswara Rao. In the same month, Nagi Reddi Devulapalli Venkateswara Rao and other Andhra Communist revolutionary leaders were arrested at Madras.

Death of Satyam and Kailasam, 10 July, 1970

The Srikakulam armed struggle collapsed when Satyam and Kailasam, the two originators of the movement, were killed in a police encounter at Bori Hills on 10 July, 1970.

The other leaders of the Srikakulam movement like Mamidi Appalasuri and D. Nagabhushanam Patnaik, were arrested at Calcutta on 24 July, 1970.

The armed struggle of Srikakulam, which continued for nearly three years from 1967–70, caught the imagination of the Communists all over the world. The NCNA (New China News Agency), in an article entitled "The Most Advanced Bulwark of India" dated 29 December, 1969, hailed the Srikakulam Movement and said that "Comrade Charu Majumdar personally kindled the flame of the armed struggle in Srikakulam."[4] The Chinese Radio

4. Quoted in *Revolutionary Violence, p. 113.*

also gave prominence to this struggle in its broadcasts of 4 March and 19 May, 1967 and recalled the legacy of the Telangana Struggle.

Parvatipuram Conspiracy Case

The Andhra police brought charges against 140 persons for taking part in the Srikakulam movement. The list, apart from containing the names of the well known leaders of the movement like Nagabhushanam Patnaik and Tejeswara Rao, included 4 lawyers, 2 MBBS doctors, 5 teachers 1 Ph.D. scholar in Chemical Technology and 17 students. The other important accused were Charu Majumdar, Kanu Sanyal and Souren Bose. Charu Majumdar was arrested in Calcutta on 16 July, 1972 and he died 12 days later (28-7-1972) while in police custody.

Among the accused, Nagabhushanam Patnaik was sentenced to death. This created a sensation throughout the country and many appeals were made to the Government of Andhra Pradesh and the Government of India. He was finally released in 1982. As his health was shattered, he was taken for medical treatment to Visakhapatnam and then to New Delhi. He died on 9 October, 1998 due to renal failure at a private hospital in Chennai.

Revolutionary Violence in Telangana Districts

The suppression of the Srikakulam Armed Struggle did not end the revolutionary violence in Andhra. It had spread to Telangana districts like Khammam, Warangal, Karim Nagar and Adilabad. In the last named district, the Girijans, especially the Gonds, were attracted by the revolutionary propaganda. Places like Indravelli in Adilabad district and Jagityala in Karimnagar districts became scenes of much violence. Many students were drawn towards the revolutionary movements of the Naxalbari type. People having radical views are now popularly known at Naxalites.

11

POLITICAL CRISES SINCE 1956

Since its emergence in 1956, Andhra Pradesh was rocked by two serious violent political agitations, in 1969 and 1972. The agitation of 1969 was popularly known as the Telangana agitation and that of 1972 the Jai Andhra Movement.

The Telangana agitation arose because of the feelings of tne people of the Telangana that the "Gentlemen's Agreement", which had facilitated the formation of Andhra Pradesh, had been violated by the leaders of Andhra region. Some of their grievances were real but many of them were imaginary. Leaders of the Andhra region did nothing to remove the suspicions of the Telangana people. The Gentlemen's Agreement was violated in 1956 itself when Sanjiva Reddy, the first Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, refused to name any Telangana minister as Deputy Chief Minister, saying that the Deputy Chief Ministership is like the unwanted sixth finger of the hand.

The influx of the people of Coastal Andhra into the city of Hyderabad had also created its own social tensions. Slowly, the discontent spread to the Government officials and unemployed youth, who got the feeling that they were neglected and exploited by the domineering officials of the Andhra region and the enterprising people of the Andhra area.

In order to draw the attention of the Government to their grievances, the people of Telangana began to organise protest meetings and observed "Telangana Safeguards Day" as early as 10 July, 1968. In the meeting held at Hyderabad city, Mahadev Singh, a prominent Trade Union leader, cautioned the Government that if it failed to redress the grievances of Telangana people, they may be compelled to demand a separation from Andhra Pradesh.[1]

One of the main causes of the dissatisfaction of the people of Telangana was that a large number of persons from Andhra region were appointed to the posts in Telangana on the grounds that qualified personnel from Telangana were not available. The discontent of the Telangana people manifested itself when a student of Khammam went on a hunger strike in January 1969. By

1. *The Deccan Chronicle* (Hyderabad), 11 July, 1968.

the middle of January the agitation spread to other districts. Students were in the vanguard of the movement. One section of the students wanted full implementation of safeguards while the other section demanded separation of Telangana from Andhra Pradesh.

The non-gazetted officers of Telangana joined the issue by threatening to launch direct action if the 6,000 Andhras occupying Telangana posts were not repatriated to Andhra region.[2]

The agitation took a violent turn in certain areas. To prevent the spread of violence to other areas, the five Opposition parties in the State Legislature, Bharatiya Jana Sangh, Muslim Majlis, Samyukta Socialist Party (SSP), C.P.I. and C.P.I. (M), warned the Chief Minister not to ignore the agitation. They threatened that they would join the students in the struggle for the implementation of safeguards.

The Chief Minister convened a meeting of all political party leaders of the State on 18 and 19 January, 1969. The two important issues agitating the minds of the Telangana people, namely, the repatriation of Andhra officials from Telangana and the quantum of surplus revenues of Telangana, were discussed at the meeting. The Chief Minister announced that all the party leaders agreed to the suggestion of appointing a senior officer to decide the quantum of Telangana surpluses. He also announced that Andhra officials in Telangana would be provided jobs in Andhra area. He appealed to the striking students to call off their agitation and restore a peaceful and cordial atmosphere in the State.

Unfortunately, on 20 January, police opened fire on the agitating students at Hyderabad. This incident provoked the students and the appeal of the Chief Minister fell on deaf ears. When the students continued their agitation, the Government extended the *Sankranti* vacation. On 22 January, the agitation became very violent all over Telangana, resulting in heavy damage to railways and other public property. Communications were also disrupted. In order to defuse the situation, the Government announced that the Andhra personnel in Telangana would be repatriated by 28 February, 1969. It also announced that the Comptroller and Auditor General of India had agreed to depute a senior official within a week to work out Telangana surpluses. Even these announcements failed to end the agitation.

While the people of both regions were emotionally upset, a rumour was spread that an Andhra official (a Deputy Surveyor) was burnt alive by Telangana agitators at Nalgonda. This led to a counter agitation in the Andhra area.

Meanwhile, the Telangana Student Action Committee, on 9 March, 1969, called upon the students of Telangana to abstain from classes till a

2. *The Hindu* (Madras), 12 January, 1969.

separate Telangana was formed. K. V. Ranga Reddy, former Deputy Chief Minister (under Sanjivayya's Ministry), joined the students stating that "without separate statehood the injustices to Telangana cannot be rectified and prevented".[3]

While the political situation was taking a turn for the worse, the Supreme Court granted an injunction on Andhra Government order under which the non-Mulkis employed in Telangana were to be relieved by 28 February, 1969. Subsequently, the order was declared to be ultra-vires of the Constitution.[4]

The agitation took a new turn when eight Congress legislators from Telangana supported the students and demanded the formation of a separate Telangana.

The Prime Minister, who was watching the situation closely, announced in the Lok Sabha on 11 April, 1969, an Eight Point Plan to resolve the tangle. Among them were (1) The appointment of a high powered committee under a retired or serving Supreme Court judge to determine the Telangana surpluses, (2) Constitution of Telangana Development Committee with the Chief Minister as Chairman to review periodically the Telangana development programme, (3) Constitution of a Committee of jurists to examine the feasibility of providing safeguards to Telangana people in the matter of public employment.

The Prime Minister's Eight Point Plan did not find favour among the dissident Congress legislators and non-Congress parties. The student agitation now passed into the hands of disgruntled politicians who formed themselves into what was called the Telangana Praja Samiti and began to organise the movement in a planned manner.

The Praja Samiti called upon the people to observe 1 May, 1969, as the Telangana Demand Day. The observance of Demand Day led to violence in some parts of Telangana and police had to open fire. The Prime Minister invited Praja Samiti leaders for talks in New Delhi, but 13 out of 15 invitees declined the invitation stating that "the creation of a separate Telangana State is not negotiable". The stalemate continued and on 4 June, 1969, the situation in Hyderabad city became so violent that a 33-hour curfew was imposed. Many Congressmen demanded the resignation of the Chief Minister, Brahmananda Reddy.

Meanwhile, the Praja Samiti leader, Dr. Chenna Reddi, and the students agitation leader, Mallikarjun, were arrested and agitation continued even in October 1969. By November, there was a split in the Praja Samiti. The dissident Congress legislators also felt that they could not oust Brahmananda Reddi. The Chief Minister was able to stick on to his position due to the

3. *The Times of India* (New Delhi), 10 March, 1969.
4. *The Hindu* (Madras), 29 March, 1969.

firm support he received from the Prime Minister. She refused to be cowed down by agitations and violence. Slowly, normalcy returned to the State. Brahmananda Reddi expanded his Cabinet and made J. V. Narasinga Rao the Deputy Chief Minister.

In September 1971, Brahmananda Reddy resigned his position to make room for a Telenganite to become the Chief Minister. On 25 September, 1971, P. V. Narasimha Rao from Telangana was elected as the leader of the Congress Legislature Party. The Telangana Praja Samiti members re-joined the Congress. A few days later, P. V. Narasimha Rao formed his ministry. Andhra Pradesh got its first Chief Minister from Telangana.

During the Chief Ministership of P. V. Narasimha Rao, Andhra Pradesh witnessed another agitation, this time in the Andhra region. The agitation was the outcome of the Supreme Court's judgement on what was known as the "Mulki issue".[5]

After the trifurcation of the Hyderabad State in 1956, the Mulki rules continued to be in force in the Telangana region. As a result, the people of the Andhra region found it difficult to enter into Government service in Telangana region. Some of the Andhra employees challenged the validity of these rules in the Andhra Pradesh High Court. On 14 February, 1972, a full bench of five judges by a four-one majority held that Mulki rules were not valid and operative after the formation of Andhra Pradesh.[6]

The High Court judgement came as a rude shock to the people of Telangana, who all the while were insisting on the enforcement of the Mulki rules. The Chief Minister, P. V. Narasimha Rao, in order to placate his fellow Telenganites, announced that the Government would prefer an appeal to the Supreme Court against the ruling of the Andhra Pradesh High Court. Further, he announced that the Government would go ahead with the regionalisation of services and take steps to safeguard the "legitimate interests" of the Telangana people in the matter of employment opportunities.[7]

On 3 October, 1972, the Supreme Court gave its verdict on the Mulki rules, stating that they were valid and were in force. This judgement created a great political crisis in the State. The people of the Andhra region felt that they were reduced to the status of second class citizens even in their own State capital. They felt that the only way to safeguard their dignity and honour was by severing their connection with Telangana.

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5. In 1919, the Nizam of Hyderabad issued a "Firman" laying down that only "Mulkis" were eligible for public appointments in the State. Mulki is one who was born in the State of Hyderabad or resided there continuously for fifteen years and given an affidavit that he had abandoned the idea of returning to his native place.
6. *Asian Recorder* (New Delhi), 1972, p. 10663.
7. Ibid., 10664.

The Government of India, realising the intensity of the feelings of the people of both Andhra and Telangana regions on the issue of Mulki rules, tried to arrive at a compromise by continuing the Mulki rules in the twin cities of Hyderabad and Secunderabad until the end of 1977 and in the rest of the Telangana region until the end of 1980. The Parliament passed a bill to this effect on 23 December, 1972. The people of the Andhra region, who wanted the immediate abolition of the Mulki rules, were taken aback. They felt that their dignity and honour could be safeguarded only in a separate State of their own. In order to achieve a separate Andhra State, they started an agitation popularly known as the "Jai Andhra Movement".

On 31 December, 1972, the Congressmen of the Andhra region met at a convention at Tirupati, which was attended by a large number of Andhra Congress members of the Legislative Assembly, Council and Presidents of Zilla Parishads. B. V. Subba Reddi, who earlier resigned his position of Deputy Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, presided over it. The convention issued a call to the people of Andhra to "paralyse the State administration" by refusing to pay taxes to the Government and by defying the prohibitory orders. To implement the decisions of the convention, an "Action Committee" was constituted with Subba Reddi as the President. The committee included six of the eight ministers who had resigned earlier over the Mulki rules issue.[8]

The Jai Andhra agitation spread like wild fire and paralysed the administration. As a result, President's Rule was enforced on the State on 18 Janary, 1973. The State Assembly was kept in suspended animation. Meanwhile, the Congressmen of Telangana met at a convention on 21 January, 1973 at Hyderabad under the Presidentship of Dr. M. Chenna Reddy and resolved to fight for a separate State and converted itself into a "Congress Forum for Telangana".[9]

The Jai Andhra Movement, though it enjoyed popular support, could not make much headway due to lack of proper leadership. The one leader, Kakani Venkataratnam, who could have provided effective leadership died of a heart attack on 25 December, 1972. B. V. Subba Reddi, partly due to his ill health, could not rise to the occasion. The Movement degenerated into a vulgar agitation. The Communist party of India, which was opposed to bifurcation of the State, began to organise rallies to counteract the separatist movements in both regions.

Though the agitation continued for more than two months, it failed to make any impact on the Central Government. The Andhra Congress leaders became restless and they met at Chittoor on 18 March, 1973, to decide the

8. Ibid., (1973) p. 1120.
9. Ibid., p. 11227.

future course of action. The meeting ended in confusion, as a large number of students forced the Congressmen to quit the Congress party and form a regional party.[10]

After the imposition of the President's rule, the advisers to the Governor, especially H. C. Sarin, began to act with vigour, even though the administration was almost paralysed due to the strike of the non-gazetted government officers of the Andhra region. On 25 March, 1973, the non-gazetted government officers called off their 108 day-old strike.

Meanwhile, another twist was given to the agitation when the Andhra Pradesh High Court declared on 16 February, 1973, that only people from outside the State who came to Telangana and settled there were Mulkis and not those who were born and brought up in Telangana.[11] As a result of this decision, the Telangana people lost even the small benefits they got by the Mulki Rules Act passed by the Parliament in December 1972. Here it may be stated that when the Supreme Court upheld the validity of the Mulki Rules, it did not express its opinion on the "definition and applicability of the Mulki Rules" because these points were not raised before the Court. As a result, a number of cases came before the Andhra Pradesh High Court challenging the definition of "Mulki" in December 1972. On 11 July, 1973, the A.P. High Court gave another verdict that the Mulki rules (both old and new) apply only for initial recruitment and not for subsequent stages of promotion, seniority, reversion, retrenchment or ousting from service, whether temporary or permanent.[12]

As a result of these developments and gradual loss of public support, the Congressmen, both in Andhra and Telangana regions, realised the futility of their demand for a bifurcation of the State. They wanted a face-saving formula to call off the agitation. Sensing the changed mood of the people, the Central Government held discussions with leaders of both the regions and evolved what is known as the "Six points formula", which was endorsed by the leaders of both the regions, with minor changes. The six points were:

1. Abolition of Mulki Rules and Telangana Regional Committee.
2. Local candidates were to be preferred for direct recruitment to non-gazetted posts and Assistant Surgeons.
3. Creation of a high powered tribunal to deal with the grievances of the Government employees.
4. Creation of a State level planning board with sub-committees for different backward areas.

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10. Ibid., p. 11342.
11. Ibid., p. 11343.
12. Ibid., p. 11568.

5. Establishment of a Central University at Hyderabad to augment education facilities, and
6. Amendment of the Constitution to implement the above five points.[13]

The Andhra Congress Action Committee accepted the six points on 1 October, 1973 and gave up its 10-month old demand for the creation of a separate Andhra State. On 18 December, 1973, the Lok Sabha passed the Constitution (33rd Amendment) Bill to give effect to the six point formula. The voting was 311 for and 8 against. Simultaneously, the Mulki rules, which had become "unnecessary" with the acceptance of the six point formula, were repealed.[14] The Telangana Regional Committee, which had been constituted in 1958, was abolished from 1 January, 1974 under a Presidential order. On 10 December, 1973, President's Rule in Andhra Pradesh was revoked and a 15-member popular ministry was formed with J. Vengal Rao as the Chief Minister. With the advent of the popular ministry, normalcy returned and the State enjoyed political stability. Economic activity also picked up and the State made great progress in agricultural development. Activity on the industrial front also picked up.

In the General Elections held for the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly in February 1978, the Congress (I) Party led by Smt. Indira Gandhi, swept the polls and won 175 out of 294 seats. Dr. M. Chenna Reddy became the sixth Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh on 6 March, 1978. He announced that separate Telangana was no longer an issue. Dr. Chenna Reddy resigned his position in October 1980 and was succeeded by Sri T. Anjaiah.

Anjaiah failed to bring political stability to the State. In order to satisfy the different groups in the Congress Party, he created a very large ministry, consisting of 63 members. Naturally, this created an unfavourable impression about the capabilities of Anjaiah. The Congress High Command had to intervene to prune the ministry. This led to a very difficult situation for Anjaiah. Those who were removed from the ministry styled themselves as "dissidents" and did their best to pull down the ministry. They succeeded in their efforts. Anjaiah was replaced as Chief Minister by Bhavanam Venkatarama Reddy in February 1982. Anjaiah, during his tenure of office, conducted elections to the local bodies like Panchayat Samities, Municipalities and Municipal Corporations of Visakhapatnam and Vijayawada. The Congress Party did not participate in these elections officially, but allowed its members to contest for different positions. The B.J.P. (Bharatiya Janata Party) was able to win a majority of seats in the Corporation of Visakhapatnam and its nominee became the Mayor. Similarly, at Vijayawada the CPI and CPI (M) were able to secure a majority of seats and their nominees became Mayor and Deputy

13. Ibid., p. 11705–6.
14. Ibid., p. 11800–1.

Mayor, respectively, of Vijayawada Corporation. The setback to the Congress Party in the municipal corporation elections was one of the reasons for the removal of Anjaiah from Chief Ministership.

Emergence of a Regional Party: Telugu Desam

Frequent changes of Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh by the Congress Party High Command at Delhi created an impression among the people that the interests of the State were being neglected by the self-seeking politicians who had no political base in the state. The rapid advances made by the neighbouring State of Tamil Nadu in the sphere of industry, transport etc., under a regional party Government created an impression among the people that the interests of the State would be safe in the hands of a regional party.

N. T. Rama Rao, a leading figure in the Telugu film world, announced in May 1982 the creation of a regional party called "Telugu Desam". Within a few weeks of its formation, Telugu Desam Party became so popular that it created uneasiness among the members of the Congress Party. They felt that the ministry of Bhavanam Venkataram Reddy was not strong enough to face the new challenge, especially as the elections to the State Assembly were due in February 1983. So the Congress High Command replaced Bhavanam Venkatarama Reddy with K. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy in October 1982. Vijaya Bhaskar Reddy was the fourth Chief Minister in four years. The General Elections to the State Assembly were scheduled to be held on 5 January, 1983. It was very difficult to predict the outcome of the election, but the fact remained that the new regional party Telugu Desam had become very popular with some sections of the people who traditionally used to vote for the Congress Party led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi.

In the elections to the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly held on 5-1-83, the Telugu Desam Party won a landslide victory, securing 202 seats in a house of 294. The Congress Party led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi could secure only 60 seats. The victory of the Telugu Desam Party was unique in the annals of history. The party, which was barely nine months old, was able to win more than two-thirds of the seats in the Assembly. Many stalwarts of the Congress (I) Party, including 15 ministers, were trounced in the elections by the candidates of Telugu Desam Party. These victories were unique, since most of the Telugu Desam candidates were new to politics and participated in the elections for the first time.

Among the causes responsible for the debacle of the Congress (I) Party were frequent changes of Chief Ministers. Andhra Pradesh had the dubious distinction of having four Chief Ministers (M. Chenna Reddy, T. Anjaiah, B. Venkatarama and K. Vijayabhasker Reddy) in as many years (1977–1982). These frequent changes resulted in inefficiency and corruption. Chief

Minister Anjaiah became the butt of ridicule when he formed a Cabinet consisting of 61 members. Andhras felt that their self-respect was mortgaged by the self-seeking Congressmen, who made frequent trips to Delhi to secure positions of power.

At this psychological moment, N. T. Rama Rao entered the political arena with his party Telugu Desam, to restore the self respect and identity of the Andhras. The public response to the new party was overwhelming. The Congress (I) leaders denigrated the new party as a "drama troupe" and a conclave of the Kamma caste. But the Andhra electorate voted Telugu Desam to power as they felt that Rama Rao was capable of ushering in a stable and clean Government.

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RULE OF TELUGU DESAM 1983–1989 AND AFTER

When N. T. Rama Rao became the 10th Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh on 9 January, 1983, the general public expected that he would provide the State with a stable and clean administration that was ever-responsive to the welfare of the people.

But within a month, the new Chief Minister lost the goodwill of a vocal section of the population when he reduced the retirement age of the Government employees from 58 to 55 years. He further irritated the bureaucracy by indiscriminately suspending some senior I.A.S. officers on charges of corruption. He created a new position called "Dharma Maha Matra" to go into the charges of corruption against Government employees. The raids conducted by the Dharma Maha Matra on the residences of the senior officials created a mood of sullenness in the secretariat and hampered the smooth functioning of the Government. That some of the officers were suspended on flimsy grounds was evidenced by the fact that three senior I.A.S. officers suspended by the State Government were reinstated by the Centre.

The members of the Legislature belonging to the Telugu Desam Party were also not happy with the attitude of the Chief Minister towards them since they were treated as mere ciphers and chided like school children. It was reported that at the second "Mahanadu" (Annual Session) of the Telugu Desam Party held at Visakhapatnam in May 1984, Rama Rao openly castigated the MLAs of his party saying that they were prepared to eat grass, meaning thereby that they were prone to corruption. Naturally, these remarks irked MLAs, who were already chaffing at the "dictatorial behaviour" of the sons-in-law of the Chief Minister. Here it may be stated that the main complaint against the Chief Minister was that he allowed his sons-in-law D. Venkateswara Rao and N. Chandrababu Naidu, especially the latter who was previously a minister in Congress (I) Cabinet of T. Anjaiah and had fought and lost against the Telugu Desam Party in the elections of January 1983, to take major policy decisions of the Government.

The Chief Minister alienated another important section of the public, namely, village officers like Karanam and Munsiff, by abolishing their hereditary positions. Thus, within 15 months of his rule, Rama Rao lost the sympathy and support of the urban elite and the rural functionaries. However, he was able to keep intact the solid support of the poorer sections of the society by supplying them rice at Rs. 2 a kilogram.

Rama Rao's style of functioning was resented by some of his Cabinet colleagues. The Chief Minister suspected that one of his ministers, M. Ramachandra Rao, was corrupt. So he sent a police official to the residence of the minister to pose as an industrialist and offer him a bribe of Rs. 10,000. The conversation between the minister and the police official was tape-recorded. The minister was immediately sacked on charges of corruption. This episode, no doubt, for a time, halted the downward popularity curve of the Chief Minister, but its political consequences were disastrous. Ministers hesitated to function freely and take quick administrative decisions, lest they be dubbed as corrupt. As a result, the administration became sluggish.

Differences with Bhaskara Rao

The Chief Minister failed to maintain rapport with Nadendla Bhaskara Rao, his colleague in the Cabinet.

Bhaskara Rao, who was a lawyer by profession, hailed from the tobacco-rich Guntur district of the Coastal region. He was a member of the Congress (I) Party and had very close links with Sanjay Gandhi. He served as a minister in the Cabinets of Chenna Reddy and Anjaiah. He nurtured an ambition to become the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, but could not reach the top. He, therefore, left the Congress (I) Party and succeeded in making Rama Rao leave the film world and take a plunge into politics. He regarded himself as the co-founder of the Telugu Desam Party and used to refer to himself as the co-pilot of the Telugu Desam Party, the pilot being Rama Rao.

When Rama Rao formed the Government in January 1983 after his great electoral victory, Bhaskara Rao was made a minister but not designated as number two in the Cabinet. This naturally irked Bhaskara Rao, but he could do nothing. He bid his time.

In June 1984, Rama Rao left for USA for a surgical treatment of his heart. Even though he had to be away from the country for nearly two months, Rama Rao did not designate any minister of his Cabinet as number two to preside over the meetings of the Cabinet in case of emergency.

Communal Riots in Hyderabad City

Riots between the Hindu and Muslim communities of Hyderabad city became endemic since 1978. During July 1984, once again the old city of Hyderabad was rocked by communal riots. Unlike the previous occasions

when the riots subsided within a few days of their occurrence, the riots of July continued for weeks together. The Government could not bring the riots under control and, strangely enough, Bhaskara Rao, who was the Home Minister, was divested of law and order. Under these circumstances, he could do nothing. Later, he remarked that the Chief Secretary of the Government even objected to his visit to the old city to study the situation prevailing there.

That Bhaskara Rao wanted to capitalise on the prevailing situation in Hyderabad city to achieve his long cherished ambition of becoming the Chief Minister of the State became so evident to Rama Rao that he cut short his stay in the USA and returned to Hyderabad on 14 August, 1984.

Resignation of Bhaskara Rao

Soon after reaching Hyderabad, Rama Rao informed the Governor, Ram Lal, of his intention to dismiss Bhaskara Rao from his Cabinet. Meanwhile, Bhaskara Rao resigned from the Cabinet. Three other ministers, namely, Jeevan Reddy, Ramamuni Reddy and Satyanarayana, also resigned in support of Bhaskara Rao. A number of MLAs belonging to the Telugu Desam Party hailed the action of Bhaskara Rao. Thus, there was a vertical split in the Telugu Desam Party. Bhaskara Rao claimed that 90 MLAs of the Telugu Desam Party and 15 other MLAs supported him. The Congress (I), which had 59 MLAs in the house of 294, decided to extend its support to Bhaskara Rao.

Dismissal of Rama Rao

On independence day, i.e., 15 August, 1984, the Governor of Andhra Pradesh, Ram Lal, satisfied himself that Bhaskara Rao had the support of the majority of legislators and asked Rama Rao to resign. The Chief Minister refused to oblige the Governor as he felt that he still enjoyed the support of the majority of the legislators and was prepared to prove it on the floor of the Assembly within 48 hours. The Governor, however, dismissed Rama Rao and Bhaskara Rao was sworn in as the Chief Minister on 16 August.

Public Reaction

The engineered dismissal of Rama Rao and the patently partisan action of the Governor, Ram Lal, created volatile situation in Andhra Pradesh. The masses felt that Rama Rao had been betrayed by Bhaskara Rao and rallied round him in his "fight to the finish". In fact, the dismissal came to Rama Rao as a heaven-sent opportunity to refurbish his tarnished image in the State.

For the national opposition parties also, the dismissal of Rama Rao came very handy at a very crucial time. The opposition parties, which were fearing to confront the ruling Congress (I) Party at the coming General

Elections in December 1984, tried to capitalise on the political situation in Andhra Pradesh. At last they got an opportunity to make Prime Minister Indira Gandhi the focal point of an ugly controversy at a time when her prestige and popularity among the masses reached a zenith following the "Blue Star" operation in Amritsar.

Struggle for Restoration

The spontaneous support of the people of Andhra Pradesh and the national opposition parties emboldened Rama Rao to launch a campaign to reverse the Constitution coup carried out by Ram Lal and stage a comeback as the Chief Minister.

Rama Rao proceeded to New Delhi, along with the 161 MLAs who supported him and met President Zail Singh on 21 August. Rama Rao and the opposition parties submitted a memorandum to the President demanding the "recall of Governor Ram Lal, dismissal of Nadendla Bhaskara Rao and the re-installation of N.T.R. Rama Rao as the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh."[1] The President answered that he "shall abide by the Constitution and uphold democracy".[2]

After parading the legislators supporting him at New Delhi, Rama Rao took them to Bangalore and not Hyderabad lest some of his followers defected to Bhaskara Rao's group.

Resignation of Ram Lal

On 24 August, 1984, three days after Rama Rao met President Zail Singh at New Delhi, Ram Lal resigned his position as the Governor of Andhra Pradesh. He had no option but to resign, especially when the President was reported to have reprimanded him for his "carelessness".

The resignation of Ram Lal came as a shot in the arm for Rama Rao's supporters, who were sulking at their enforced stay in Bangalore. They felt that their Delhi trip had not gone waste and one of their demands was met.

But Bhaskara Rao, the new Chief Minister, won a pyrric victory when the Speaker of the Assembly T. Satyanarayana and the Deputy Speaker Bhim Reddy, who were in the vanguard of the much publicised parade of the MLAs before the President at New Delhi, defected to his side. The defection of the Speaker was a psychological blow to the much harassed Rama Rao. It was feared that some of the MLAs supporting Rama Rao and camping at Bangalore and Mysore may switch over their allegiance to Bhaskara Rao once they reached Hyderabad.

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1. *The Week*, Cochin, 2–8 September, 1984, p. 20.
2. Ibid.

Rama Rao's Tour of Andhra

While the MLAs supporting him stayed at Bangalore and Mysore, Rama Rao undertook a whirlwind tour of Andhra Pradesh from 26 August to 3 September. The tour was a grand success.

The Comeback

After the resignation of Ram Lal, Shankar Dayal Sharma was appointed as the Governor. The new Governor summoned the Legislative Assembly to meet on 1 September at Hyderabad to test the claims of Bhaskara Rao.

The MLAs supporting Rama Rao reached Hyderabad on 10 September when the city was under curfew following violent communal riots.

The Assembly met on 11 September at 10.30 a.m., with M. Baga Reddi as the pro-tem Speaker. The session was adjourned to the next day following pandemonium in the House. During the next two days also, the Assembly was adjourned since it became impossible to transact any business in the House. On 13 September Baga Reddi resigned from his position as pro-tem Speaker out of "revulsion" at the unruly behaviour of the members.

The resignation of Baga Reddi caused much consternation in the camp of Rama Rao's supporters as the one month time given by Ram Lal to Bhaskara Rao to prove his majority in the Assembly expired on 14 September. Some observed that since the Assembly had met for three days, the Governor had the power to prorogue the house for six months. It meant that Bhaskara Rao could continue for six more months without proving his majority if the Governor prorogued the Assembly.

After the resignation of Baga Reddi, Sultan Salauddin Owaisi, leader of the Majlees Itahad Musalmeen (MIM) group in the Assembly, who did not speak Telugu or English, was appointed as the new pro-tem Speaker.

Owaisi set 20 September as the date for the next sitting of the Assembly.

Rama Rao Reinstated (16 September, 1984)

After the appointment of Owaisi as the pro-tem Speaker, the supporters of Rama Rao felt that they had to gear themselves for a long struggle. But to their pleasant surprise, events took a rapid and happy turn. The new Governor, S. D. Sharma, who was upset at the delaying tactics of Bhaskara Rao, told him that as the one month period given to him by Ram Lal to prove his majority in the Legislature had expired on 14 September, he should either resign or face dismissal. Bhaskara Rao thereupon resigned.

On 16 September the Governor invited Rama Rao to assume office as the Chief Minister once again and prove his majority in the Legislative Assembly within one month.

It was presumed that the Governor's decision to recall Rama Rao was prompted by the decision of the All Party Action Committee to organise

Bharat Bandh on 20 September. Further, Rama Rao supporters gave an ultimatum to the Governor that they would take the issue to the people. The Governor, perhaps, thought these developments would cause an upsurge of Telugu emotion and plunge the State into chaos.

Rama Rao proved his majority on the floor of the Assembly on 21 September. After the announcement of the dates for the Eighth Lok Sabha elections, Rama Rao did not immediately opt for the dissolution of the Assembly, but on 22 November he got the Assembly dissolved "to deprive those indulging in the politics of defection and deception of the right to represent the people".

In the Lok Sabha elections held in December 1984, the Telugu Desam Party overrode the Rajiv-Congress (I) wave and won 30 out of the 43 seats it contested in Andhra Pradesh. The Congress (I) Party could secure only six seats. The remaining six seats were won by the parties who entered into electoral alliance with the Telugu Desam Party.

Assembly Election (5 March, 1985)

The Assembly elections of 5 March, 1985, proved that Rama Rao continued to command the mass backing of the Andhra electorate. Out of the 294 seats in the Assembly, the Telugu Desam Party won 202 seats, its allies 41 seats, and the Congress (I) 49 seats.

Bhaskara Rao's Poor Show

The Democratic Telugu Desam Party of Bhaskara Rao, which had set up 220 candidates, could not win even a single seat. As a matter of fact, as many as 118 of its candidates lost their deposits. Bhaskara Rao, who contested from Malakpet constituency of Hyderabad city against a BJP candidate supported by Telugu Desam Party, lost the election by 17,000 votes. Of the 55 Telugu Desam MLAs who defected to the Bhaskara Rao's group, 44 did not choose to contest, 2 contested on Congress (I) ticket and 9 on Democratic Telugu Desam Party ticket. Of these, only one MLA who contested on Congress (I) ticket could win. In contrast, out of 99 MLAs who suported Rama Rao in his time of crisis, 98 could get themselves re-elected without any difficulty. Only one MLA from Kotturu in Srikakulam district failed to get himself re-elected.

Even though the Congress lost ground in the Telangana region of the state to the Telugu Desam Party, it won significant victories in the politically conscious districts of Krishna, Guntur, Prakasam and Chittoor. It could increase the percentage of its popular vote from 38 in 1983 to 44 in 1985. The percentage of the popular vote for Telugu Desam Party was about 47.

Rama Rao's Third Ministry (9 March, 1985)

On 9 March, 1985, Rama Rao formed his third ministry, comprising 15 Cabinet Ministers and 9 Ministers of State. One of the first acts of the new ministry was the abolition of the Legislative Council. Though the TDP's sway over the Legislative Assembly was complete, it failed to get control over the Legislative Council. The 90-member Council was dominated by the Congress(S), which had as many as 48 members in it. So the Assembly adopted a resolution on 30 April, 1985, recommending the abolition of the Legislative Council. The Congress(S) and the BJP members staged a walkout in protest against the move. The Council was abolished with effect from 1 June, 1985. However, the Congress(I) which returned to power in 1989 with two-thirds majority in the Assembly, took steps for the revival of the Upper House. On 22 January, 1990, the A.P. Assembly adopted a resolution recommending the Centre to revive the Legislative Council for the State.

Supreme Court's Judgement

The TDP government received a snub from the Supreme Court in what is known as the retired Government employees' case. It may be recalled that N. T. Rama Rao, after assuming power as the Chief Minister in January 1983, reduced the retirement age of the Government employees from 58 to 55. Thereupon, the Government employees challenged the decision of the Government in the Court. A Division Bench of the Supreme Court, consisting of Justices Chinnappa Reddy, Balakrishna Erady and V. Khalid, in its judgment of August 1985 directed the Andhra Government to reinduct all its employees who were retired at the age of 55, but who had not attained the age of 58. When the State government tried to dilly dally implementing the directive of the Court by moving another petition before it, the same bench of the Court took an exception to the move and dismissed it with costs on 16 October, 1985, and asked the State government to implement the Court's judgment of August. By its delaying tactics, the TDP Government lost all its credibility in the eyes of its employees, who were also responsible for TDP's victory in elections of 1983.

Reservations

Ever since its formation in 1982, the TDP was branded as the party of the rich and influential landowners and businessmen of the Kamma caste, who dominate every walk of life in the politically volatile central Coastal districts, especially Krishna and Guntur. In order to shake off that image and pose as the champion of the downtrodden, the TDP Government, in a major policy decision of 15 July, 1986, announced that 44 per cent of jobs in Government services and an equal percentage of seats in educational

institutions, would be reserved for Backward Classes. As a result of this, the percentage of the reservations went up to 67 per cent.

The announcement created an explosive situation in the State. Students organised violent demonstrations against the Government, which brought the administration to a standstill. The Government never expected that the public reaction would be so spontaneous and violent. The wrath of the students against the TDP was so great that its leaders were unable to face the public to explain their stand. The Government order on reservations was challenged by some students in the Court. Fortunately for the Government, when it was losing its grip on the law and order situation, the High Court pronounced its judgment, quashing the Government order. The situation was defused and the Government escaped from an embarrassing situation. Here it may be stated that the High Court, while striking down the enhanced reservation for the Backward Classes from 25 to 44 per cent, upheld the enhancement of the reservations for the Scheduled Castes from 14 to 15 per cent and that of the Scheduled Tribes from 4 to 6 per cent. The three-member Division Bench, consisting of the Justice B. P. Jeevan Reddi, K. Ramaswamy and Y. V. Anjaneyulu, termed the Government order as "arbitrary, unreasonable and violative" of the Constitution.

Allegations of Corruption

While the Government was assailed by the students for its proreservation policy, the Congress leaders stepped up their campaign on the TDP leaders alleging that they were indulging in many corrupt practices. Even the TDP Supremo Rama Rao was not spared. A well known Congress leader, Dronam Raju Satyanarayana, filed a petition in the High Court against the Chief Minister, charging him of many acts of commission and omission, which amounted to abuse of power. On 2 January, 1988, a Division Bench of the High Court, headed by Chief Justice K. Bhaskaran, recorded prima facie finding of "abuse of official position" against the Chief Minister. Thereupon, the Congress intensified its campaign for the resignation of the Chief Minister. Rama Rao, however, refused to oblige the Congress.

Dismissal of the Entire Cabinet

The growing unpopularity of the Government came as a boon to some members of the TDP who wanted to assert their individuality by subtly criticising their leader. Rama Rao pre-empted these moves and asserted his position by dismissing all his Ministers, numbering 31, and formed a new 23-member Cabinet on 15 February, 1988. None of the 31 dropped ministers were taken into the new Cabinet

Throughout 1988, the Congress leaders lost no opportunity to highlight the failures of the Government in maintaining law and order. With the start of the year 1989, the relations between the TDP and the Congress deteriorated further. The Congress, which was determined to stage a comeback to power in the coming elections, tried to provoke the TDP at every stage. Some members of the Youth Congress entered into the premises of the Assembly and demonstrated against the Government. Thereupon, the Assembly passed a resolution on 29 March, 1989, sentencing 32 Youth Congress leaders to 30 days' imprisonment.

Confrontation with the Judiciary

The Congress maintained that the Assembly did not have the judicial powers and challenged the action of the Speaker of the Assembly in the Supreme Court. A Constitutional Bench of the Supreme Court on 25 April, 1989, ordered the release of the Youth Congress leaders detained in the Secunderabad jail. The Speaker of the Assembly, G. Narayana Rao, refused to comply with the directions of the Supreme Court. The Youth Congress leaders were released only after completing their term of imprisonment. The Supreme Court took notice of the defiance of the Speaker and in an unprecedented order on 26 September, 1989, issued a notice to the Speaker to show cause why contempt proceedings should not be initiated against him for the disobedience of its orders of 25 April, 1989. But the matter was not pursued to its logical conclusion.

The confrontation of the TDP with the Judiciary and the Congress tarnished its image. The general public began to feel that the party had lost its sense of direction and was wasting its energies in frivolous controversies and neglecting the administration.

Brahmarishi Viswamitra

Exploiting the popular disenchantment with the working of the TDP Government, the Congress stepped up its propaganda against the Chief Minister by filing two writ petitions challenging the decision of Rama Rao to act in and direct the film *Brahmarishi Viswamitra*. Here it may be stated that it was rumoured that the Chief Minister wanted to release the above movie to boost the electoral prospects of his party in the General Elections of 1989. The High Court dismissed the petitions on the ground that it had no jurisdiction to go into the conduct of a Minister,

Within the party, the Chief Minister found that there were rumblings against his highhanded style of functioning. To ward off incipient dissidence, he expanded his Cabinet on 3 September, 1989 by inducting five more ministers, including his son-in-law, D. Venkateswara Rao.

General Elections, November 1989

In the General Elections of November 1989, the Congress (I) lost its majority in the Lok Sabha, but it emerged as the largest single party by winning 192 seats in the 543 member house. But as far as Andhra Pradesh was concerned, the Congress emerged victorious by winning 39 of the 42 Lok Sabha seats. TDP managed to retain only two seats.

Comeback of the Congress

Simultaneously with the Lok Sabha elections, elections were held for the Legislative Assembly of Andhra Pradesh. The Congress (I) Party, which was thrown out of power in January 1983, staged a spectacular comeback, winning as many as 180 seats in the 294 member House. The TDP, which had 202 seats in the previous Assembly, could get only 74 seats. The Chief Minister, Rama Rao, who was also the Chairman of the National Front, was defeated in the Kalwakarty constituency of Mahboobnagar district. He, however, won the second seat he contested from Hindupur in Anantapur district.

The architect of the Congress victory, Dr. Marri Chenna Reddy, was elected as the leader of the Legislature. He was sworn in as the Chief Minister on 3 December, 1989. But he could stay in office for one year only.

N. Janardhana Reddy

Chenna Reddy was succeeded by Nedurumalli Janardhana Reddy. He assumed office as Chief Minister on 22 December, 1990. But his position was not secure. There was a demand that he should be replaced by another leader. Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy was spearheading the campaign for the replacement of Janardhana Reddy. It was evident that Congress had not learnt its lesson of 1983. One of the reasons for the debacle of the Congress in that year and the emergence of the TDP was the public disenchantment at the bickering within the Congress party. There was no doubt that history would be repeated again if the Congress failed to set its house in order.

Mid-term Elections to Lok Sabha (May-June 1991)

The Congress, which returned to power in elections to the Andhra Legislative in November 1989, dissipated the goodwill of the public in no time due to its bickerings and lacklustre performance. As a result, in the mid-term elections to the Lok Sabha held in May-June 1991, the TDP could win as many as 13 seats. It was no secret that the Congress was saved from further humiliation due to the public sympathy that emanated from the brutal murder of Rajiv Gandhi on 21 May, 1991.

The election of P. V. Narasimha Rao as the Prime Minister of India brought a lot of cheer to the Congress Party in Andhra, which was in bad shape. It was hoped that the Congress leaders could realise the grave problems confronting the country in the political and economic spheres and stopped their bickerings and implemented the election pledges of the party.

13
SPLIT IN TELUGU DESAM PARTY

In the General Elections to the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly held in December 1994, the Telugu Desam Party routed the Congress (I) by winning as many as 214 seats out of the total of 294 seats. With such a massive mandate, N. T. Rama Rao became the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh once again in January 1995. But within nine months of winning the elections with a stunning majority, Rama Rao was forced to resign as Chief Minister on 31 August, 1995, under circumstances no one could have foreseen.

Coup in the Family

The main reason for the dethronement of Rama Rao was the struggle for power between his sons and son-in-law on one side and his second wife Lakshmi Parvati on the other.

Rama Rao's first wife, Basava Rama Tarakam, died in 1984. Five years later, Rama Rao lost his political power also when the Telugu Desam Party was routed in the elections to the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly held in November 1989. The Congress (I) came to power by winning as many as 180 seats in the 294 member house. The political loneliness of Rama Rao was compounded by the alienation of his children to whom he had bequeathed his property running into many millions of rupees. When Rama Rao was thus politically isolated and emotionally depressed, Lakshmi Parvati, a divorcee and a scholar of Sanskrit and Telugu, entered into his life, ostensibly to write his biography. Soon, the relationship between the two turned into an emotional bond. At the age of 72, Rama Rao married Lakshmi Parvati, as he explained, out of gratitude for nursing him back to health when he had suffered a stroke earlier.

The members of Rama Rao's family regarded Lakshmi Parvati as an intruder and were alarmed that their position in the Telugu Desam Party was at stake. Their apprehensions came true sooner than expected. Lakshmi Parvati began to exercise tremendous influence on Rama Rao.

His son-in-law and one-time adviser, Chandrababu Naidu, was sidelined and ignored. Lakshmi Parvati, who had the gift of the gab, mesmerised the huge election gatherings with her scholastic Telugu speeches. Rama Rao felt that the unprecedented victory of the Telugu Desam Party in the elections of December 1994 was due to his charisma and Lakshmi Parvati's oratory.

When Rama Rao formed his Government in January 1995, Chandrababu Naidu was taken into the ministry. But the gulf between the father-in-law and son-in-law widened day by day. Naidu was getting restive following Rama Rao's attempts to project his wife as his political heir. On her part, she began to act as de-facto Chief Minister and Party President.

Things came to a head during the election of Presidents of the District Cooperative Central Banks in Cuddapah, Karimnagar, Warangal and Nalgonda. Rama Rao's whip was defied during the elections to these bodies. Thereupon, Rama Rao suspended eight MLAs and thus set at motion the final onslaught against his leadership.

Tekkali Seat

In the elections for the A.P. Legislative Assembly held in December 1994, Rama Rao contested from two constituencies—Hindupur in Anantapur district and Tekkali in Srikakulam district. As he was elected from both the places, he retained his membership from Hindupur and vacated the Tekkali seat. He wanted to reward Lakshmi Parvati by getting her elected from Tekkali. This move was resented by his son, Hari Krishna, who laid claim to it. Hari Krishna's claim was supported by other members of Rama Rao's family. Thereupon, Rama Rao gave the seat to neither. The ticket was, however, given to his wife's nominee, N. A. Appaiah Dora. Dora, a non entity, could win the seat only by uttering the name of Rama Rao.

The election of Dora pressed alarm bells in Naidu's camp. They felt that their positions would be undermined by non entities gathered around Lakshmi Parvati.

Praja Sadassu

Rama Rao undertook a tour of north Andhra Coastal districts. On 16 August, 1995, he held his *Praja Sadassus* (People's Durbar) at various places. At Tekkali, he warned that he would not tolerate any attempt to vilify his wife.

Naidu's Moves

Rama Rao returned to Hyderabad on 23 August. Meanwhile, Naidu held consultations with his followers, including about 50 MLAs. Another 30 MLAs were tempted to join their camp. At this point of time, there was

no attempt to challenge the leadership of Rama Rao but only to request him to stop the "machinations" of Lakshmi Parvati, who was labelled by some as *Dusta Sakthi* or evil force. A delegation consisting of ministers Ashok Gajapati Raju, Devender Goud and MLA Subba Reddy called on Rama Rao and told him of the restlessness in the party due to the activities of Parvati and pleaded with him to set things right. Rama Rao, who was never known to be a man of reason, threatened the delegation that he would advise the Governor to dissolve the Assembly. That was the last straw for the dissidents.

Meanwhile, Naidu arranged a meeting between Rama Rao and the members of his family, sans Parvati. The three-hour family conclave ended in a fiasco. Naidu walked out of the meeting in a huff to set in motion the rest of his well-calculated plan.

Meeting at the Viceroy Hotel

Naidu, after walking out of the family conclave, drove straight to the Viceroy Hotel, where he called his supporters for dinner. Initially about 80 MLAs gathered for dinner. By midnight the number swelled to more than 150. Dr. Venkateswara Rao, the elder son-in-law of Rama Rao and a political rival of Naidu, chose to close ranks with Naidu and joined the dinner meeting.

Naidu, who had pioneered the concept of MLA camps by keeping the loyal MLAs in hotels and taking them in video coaches in 1984 when Rama Rao was ousted from power by Bhaskara Rao, tried the same strategy again. The MLAs who gathered at Viceroy Hotel on 23–24 August stayed there till Naidu was sworn in as the Chief Minister on 1 September, 1995.

Move to Split the Party

Some MLAs suggested splitting the party and electing a rival President. Naidu did not endorse the idea as he felt that the split in the party would not go well with the party workers at grassroots level. Further, it might involve legal complications. So he favoured a split in the Legislative Party and the removal of Rama Rao from leadership. The 144 MLAs present at the Viceroy Hotel elected Chandrababu Naidu as the leader of the Telugu Desam Legislative Party, replacing Rama Rao. A delegation called on the Governor, Krishna Kant, and gave a letter requesting him to invite Naidu to form the new Government.

Reaction of Rama Rao

On 25 August, Rama Rao presided over a Cabinet meeting of 21 members and sacked the five absentee ministers, namely, Chandrababu Naidu, Ashok Gajapati Raju, Devender Goud, Madhava Reddy and Vidyadhar Rao. He called on the Governor after the Cabinet meeting to

recommend the dissolution of the Assembly "owing to certain unhappy circumstances".

Governor's Action

After the Chief Minister had left, some dissident ministers called on the Governor and presented him a copy of the legislative party resolution with 140 signatures expressing its lack of confidence in Rama Rao. They requested the Governor not to heed the advice of Rama Rao since he did not enjoy the majority of the house.

The Governor asked the Speaker to verify the signatures of the MLAs on the memorandum submitted to him. The action of the Governor was criticised by some who felt that he should have followed the British Parliamentary practice and recommended to the President the dissolution of the Legislative Assembly.

Speaker's Role

The Speaker, Ramakrishnudu, returned to Hyderabad from Visakhapatnam to verify the signatures on the memorandum submitted by the dissidents to the Governor. He went a step forward to hold a roll call. He physically verified the strength of the breakaway group of the Telugu Desam Party in the Committee Hall of the Assembly building and announced that the breakaway group had the majority.

The action of the Speaker was criticised by some constitutional experts, who felt that the Speaker was only the Presiding Officer of the House. His duty was only to regulate the proceedings of the House according to rules. He had no authority to recognise or derecognise the party affiliations of the members.

Meanwhile, the Governor decided to play safe. Instead of asking Chandrababu Naidu, the rebel leader, straightaway to form the Government, the Governor asked Rama Rao to seek a vote of confidence on the floor of the Assembly on 30 August, 1995. The date was extended by a day at the request of the Chief Minister.

Naidu Elected as the President of the TDP

The General Body of the Telugu Desam Party, which included the MLAs, MPs, Chairpersons of the Zilla Parishads, District Cooperative Central Banks and Marketing Societies, was held on 30 August, 1995, at Besant Theatre in Kachiguda. Chandrababu Naidu was elected as the President of the party in place of his father-in-law and Chief Minister N. T. Rama Rao. The meeting was attended by D. Venkateswara Rao, the elder son in-law of Rama Rao, and Hari Krishna, the son of Rama Rao.

One of the resolutions of the General Body scrapped the provision in the Constitution of the party for a President for life.

Resignation of Rama Rao

The drama ended in an anti-climax. Rama Rao decided to quit his office without facing the Assembly. With seven hours still to go for the Assembly session on 31 August, Rama Rao signed a two-line letter of resignation. Soon he was taken ill and driven to the hospital in a coma.

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GOVERNMENT OF CHANDRABABU NAIDU

Chandrababu Naidu assumed office as the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh on 1 September, 1995. His 11 member Cabinet included 10 members of Rama Rao's Cabinet. The lone newcomer was N. Hari Krishna, the son of Rama Rao. He was not an MLA. The elder son in-law of Rama Rao, D. Venkateswara Rao, who hoped to become the Deputy Chief Minister, was not included in the Cabinet.

On assuming office, Naidu promised to accelerate the development of the State, both in agricultural and industrial sectors, by formulating new policies. He criticised the low pace of development during the tenure of Rama Rao as the Chief Minister, forgetting the fact that he held the important portfolios like revenue and finance during that period.

The elevation of Naidu as the Chief Minister did not come as a surprise to the people of Andhra Pradesh as they were fully aware of his skills to manipulate himself into positions of power.

Chandrababu Naidu was born in the village of Naravaripalem in Chandragiri Mandal of Chittoor district on 20 April, 1951. He took active part in the student politics of Sri Venkateswara University, where he did his M.A. in Economics. In 1973, he was elected to the Legislative Assembly of Andhra Pradesh from Chandragiri on a Congress (I) ticket. He was taken into the Cabinet of Anjaiah as the Minister for Cinematography. He soon became adept in Congress politics and imbibed its political culture. He joined hands with C. Dass, a Harijan leader of the district, to reduce the influence of the dominant Reddi community, especially that of Amamatha Reddy. In the Zilla Parishad elections, he worked against the official nominee belonging to Amarnatha Reddy camp, by putting up Dr. G. Kutuhalamma as a rebel candidate. The rebel candidate won. As a result, Dass and Naidu were suspended from Congress by Kona Prabhakar Rao, the President of Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee. Naidu went to Delhi, met Indira Gandhi and got his suspension revoked.

As a Minister for Cinematography, he cultivated the acquaintance of N. T. Rama Rao and became his son-in-law. When Rama Rao formed the

Telugu Desam Party, Naidu did not join it. In 1983, he contested elections to the assembly on Congress (I) ticket and was defeated by the Telugu Desam candidate. After his defeat, he left the Congress and joined the Telugu Desam Party and soon became the alter ego of Rama Rao.

Naidu's manipulative skills came to the rescue of Rama Rao when he was ousted from power by N. Bhaskara Rao. From 1984 to July 1995, Naidu helped Rama Rao to face many a challenge. He was regarded as a natural successor of Rama Rao. But the entry of Lakshmi Parvati into the life of Rama Rao as his second wife altered the scenario. Naidu proved himself to be an astute politician par excellence by ousting Rama Rao from his exalted position as the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh and as the President of Telugu Desam Party, with little effort.

Death of Rama Rao

Rama Rao did not live long after his resignation as Chief Minister on 31 August, 1995. He died at Hyderabad on 18 January, 1996. With his death, a colourful chapter in Andhra history came to an end. The mysterious death of the patriarch and the unseemly fight between Lakshmi Parvati and Naidu factions of the Telugu Desam Party for the political legacy and the ashes of the dead body polluted the political atmosphere of the State.

General Elections of 1996

The General Elections to the Lok Sabha in 1996 provided an opportunity to the two factions of the Telugu Desam Party led by Chandrababu Naidu and Lakshmi Parvati to test their strength. The Congress (I) party, led by P. V. Narasimha Rao, was under the illusion that as a result of intensive struggle in the Telugu Desam Party, their party would sweep the polls in Andhra Pradesh and win at least 36 out of a total of 42 seats.

The Lok Sabha elections became a battle royale between Lakshmi Parvati and Chandrababu Naidu. People in large numbers flocked to hear Lakshmi Parvati. The huge turnout at her faction's conclave at Vijayawada named as *simha garjana* (lion's roar) made Lakshmi Parvati unduly complacent. She felt that her party would sweep the polls.

Naidu knew that his political survival depended on the outcome of the elections, where he was encountering the electorate for the first lime as Chief Minister. Being a shrewd political strategist, he took no chances at all. He made it a point to emphasise in his election meetings that he would continue the populist policies of Rama Rao like the Rs. 2 per kg rice scheme and prohibition. As a matter of fact, his Government issued 20 lakh additional white ration cards which entitled a person to purchase rice at Rs. 2 a kg, without weeding out the bogus cards. In addition to the continuation of Rama Rao's policies, Naidu promised to give Rs. 5,000 to every newborn

girl child. No wonder, Naidu got the votes even though crowds thronged at the meetings of Lakshmi Parvati.

The Congress (I) failed to exploit the political situation to its advantage. The leaders of the various factions tried to sabotage the electoral fortunes of the rivals in the party. Many senior leaders were suspended in the midst of election campaigning.

The Congress could win only 22 seats out of the 42 seats. The Telugu Desam party led by Naidu won 16 seats. The TDP led by Lakshmi Parvati could not win even one seat.

The split in the Telugu Desam Party helped the Congress. If the votes polled by the two groups of the TDP were to be aggregated, the Congress would have won only a few seats, namely, Ongoie, Nandyal, Rajampet, Secunderabad, Siddipetand Nizamabad. The BJP lost its only seat in Secunderabad, while the Hyderabad seat was retained by Sultan Salaluddin Owaissi of the M.I.M.

The elections strengthened the position of Chandrababu Naidu in the State as well as at the Centre. But he had to guard against the resurgence of the Congress. The Congress polled about 40 per cent of the votes and its vote share in all the three regions of the State, namely, Circars, Rayalaseema and Telangana, was higher than that of the Telugu Desam Party (Naidu faction) and its allies, the CPI and CPI (M). Congress could only hope to stage a comeback in the State provided the different factions closed their ranks.

15
REFORMS OF CHANDRABABU NAIDU

NAIDU'S FIRST TENURE AS CHIEF MINISTER 1 SEPTEMBER, 1995, TO 10 OCTOBER, 1999

Chandrababu Naidu commenced his rule as the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh on 1 September, 1995, after replacing his father-in-law and TDP founder, the late N. T. Rama Rao. Naidu's critics considered him as a political manipulator who had hijacked the massive mandate of NTR. NTR could win 214 out of 294 Assembly seats by resorting to populism. He promised to supply rice at Rs. 2 a kilo to all the people below the poverty line. To garner the support of women, he supported prohibition. NTR on becoming the Chief Minister on 12 December, 1994, implemented his election promises. His populist measures cost the state exchequer Rs. 2,000 crores a year. The Andhra Pradesh Government, which had a surplus of Rs. 454 crores, almost became bankrupt by August 1995.

Naidu realised that he could remain in power only by his performance. He wanted to proclaim to the world that he would make Andhra Pradesh a model state through a new style of techno-savvy Government. He declared himself to be the Chief Executive Officer of Andhra Pradesh and not its Chief Minister. His role models in this regard were Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore and Mahathir Mohamad of Malaysia.

To restore the financial health of the State, Naidu scrapped the popular measures of his mentor NTR and displayed exemplary courage and imagination by raising the tariff of electricity. He borrowed funds from international financial institutions like the World Bank and Asian Development Bank for the developmental activities of the State.

While Naidu was grappling with the financial problems of the State, elections to the Lok Sabha were announced.

King Maker

As the 1996 Lok Sabha elections did not give majority to any of the national parties, Naidu with his 16 TDP MPs began to play the role of a king maker at the Centre and became the Convener of the National Front.

He supported the Janata Dal led coalition Government at the Centre. The TDP and participated in the United Front government led by H. D. Deve Gowda and I. K. Gujral.

Innovative Reforms

As the Lok Sabha elections of 1996 strengthened the position of Naidu at the Centre, he embarked upon a series of reforms to modernise the administrative structure of the Andhra Pradesh Government.

Computerisation

Naidu realised that the biggest problem in Andhra Pradesh was that the administration had become outdated. He felt that the time was ripe for the introduction of a new style of techno-savvy governance. By plugging Andhra Pradesh to the Information Technology (IT) revolution, he tried to computerise the functioning of the Government in the State.

Land Records

Naidu began the process of computerising land records so as to minimise land disputes. By the click of a mouse on the computer, one could know who owned what plot in which village.

WAN (Wide Area Network)

To improve the volume and quality of citizen services and efficiency of the Government, he established WAN (Wide Area Network), linking all Government and public offices in the State. The State Secretariat was linked with 23 district headquarters and Vijayawada, using the fiber optic link.

CMIS

Chandrababu Naidu keept track of the development in the State through video conferences and CMIS (The Chief Minister Information System).

Information Infrastructure

One of the greatest achievements of Chandrababu Naidu was the creation of required information infrastructure at Madhapur, a suburb of Hyderabad, for the growth of software exports. Hyderabad emerged as a clean and modern centre of software development. It gave Bangalore a run for its money.

Power Sector Reforms

Naidu felt that changes in the power sector were overdue. The gigantic Andhra Pradesh State Electricity Board (APSEB) was bifurcated into A. P. Generation Corporation (APGENCO) and A. P. Transmission Corporation

(APTRANSCO). This was done to generate more power and curtail loss in transmission. To improve the revenues of these corporations, he increased the power tariff, knowing fully well that it would not be well-received by the public. He took the unpopular decisions at the behest of the World Bank which was giving huge funds for economic development of the State.

Naidu's innovative measures of computerisation and power sector reforms created an image that he was pro-rich and pro-urban.

Mid-Term Lok Sabha Elections of 1998

The mid-term poll for the Lok Sabha in 1998 gave warning signals to Naidu as the Congress (I) improved its position in the State to such an extent that it obtained majority in nearly 130 Assembly segments. So Naidu felt that he should do something urgently to regain the confidence of the electorate. Further, he wanted to be in good terms with the people in power in Delhi so as to protect his flank. Naidu helped Vajpayee to form the Government at Delhi in February 1998. He took a posture of neutrality as between BJP and its allies from time to time. However, TDP voted in favour of the Vajpayee Government in the Lok Sabha during its 13 month tenure. Though TDP was opposed to the use of Article 356, it voted in favour of the Government to impose Central rule in Bihar.

Unlike Jayalalithaa, Naidu proved to be a smooth customer. However, he forced the Vajpayee government to accept TDP MP, G. M. C. Balayogi as the Speaker of the Lok Sabha and frustrated the chances of P. A. Sangma of the Congress (I), who was projected as the consensus candidate.

Janma Bhoomi and other Welfare Programmes

The Lok Sabha elections of 1996 and 1998 revealed the fact that the TDP vote bank of rural women was showing signs of disintegration. Naidu, who was adept in gauging the pulse of the people, took immediate corrective measures to reclaim the traditional TDP constituency through "Janma Bhoomi" schemes and other welfare measures which specifically targeted rural women.

Naidu decided to develop the State by involving the people on the model of South Korea. By May 2000, he conducted as many as twelve rounds of the Janma Bhoomi scheme. Each round emphasised on different themes like the eradication of illiteracy, repair of rural roads and schools, women and child welfare, self-employment of youth, etc. The twelfth round conducted between 1 May to 7 May, 2000, was devoted to harvesting of water. It was aptly called "Neeru-Meeru", meaning water and you.

Water Users Association

To prevent disputes among the cultivators in the use of irrigation facilities, Water Users Associations were formed.

Rytu Bazaars

Another innovative measure was the formation of Rytu Bazaars or markets for farmers. To enable the farmers to get remunerative prices for their produce by eliminating the middlemen, Rytu Bazaars were formed where the farmers could bring their produce and sell directly to consumers brought in Government buses. This measure benefited both the farmers and the consumers.

DWACRA

(Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas)

Naidu knew fully well that when he faced the Assembly elections on his own, he must have the backing of the rural women. Aggressive wooing of the women voters started with the introduction of a scheme called DWACRA (Development of Women and Children in Rural Areas). This innovative scheme sought to encourage rural women to go into business with matching funds from the Government. Empowering women through this scheme, Naidu realised that it was not only just good economics, but good politics also. To counter the charge that he was pro-rich and pro- urban, Naidu implemented a number of grassroot schemes to keep the rural economy in a good shape.

Naidu targeted the educated urban women by giving them 33 per cent reservation in all Government jobs, schools and colleges. By the beginning of 1999, Naidu felt confident enough to declare that his good governance would give him high electoral dividends.

NAIDU'S SECOND TERM AS CHIEF MINISTER 11 OCTOBER, 1999 TO 13 MAY, 2004

The elections were held for the Andhra Pradesh State Assembly in September 1999. This was the first Assembly elections Naidu faced on his own after he assumed the mantle of the State in September 1995. Naidu preferred to run his full term and have separate elections to the State Legislature. But the Election Commission advanced the Assembly elections and clubbed them with the Lok Sabha elections of September 1999, as the State Assembly would be completing its tenure before the end of the year.

Hari Krishna, a son of NTR, floated a new party called the Anna Telugu Desam, staking a claim to the NTR legacy. Lakshmi Parvati, the widow of NTR, also entered the election arena. Naidu decided to seek the mandate based both on his performance and the promise to pursue the policies of NTR.

TDP Alliance with BJP

During the 12th Lok Sabha elections, Naidu, as the Convener of the National Front, castigated the BJP as enemy number one. But for the 13th Lok Sabha elections, he allied with the BJP and snapped his 15-year-old ties with the Left. This he did since he knew well that the Communist Parties in Andhra were no longer a force to be reckoned with.

Naidu kept the BJP on tenterhooks till the last minute on the electoral understanding for the Lok Sabha and State Assembly elections of September 1999. Much to the exasperation of the State unit of BJP, Naidu communicated directly with Vajpayee and Advani. The BJP had to settle for 25 Assembly seats and 8 Lok Sabha seats.

Personal Image

Naidu, by his frequent visits to all the 23 districts of the State in connection with Janma Bhoomi programmes and weekly interaction with the people on TV and radio, developed the image of a sincere, committed and hard working Chief Minister. His dialogue with the people and a reasonable amount of transparency in administration conveyed his message to the people.

The option in the election was limited to voting either for Naidu or against him. Naidu's appeal to the people to give him another term to complete all the good work he had planned for the development of the State was well-received. The totally negative campaign against him by the Congress proved to be counter productive. The anti-incumbency factor that worked in States like Karnataka and Maharashtra did not operate in Andhra.

Four-Fold Election Strategy

Naidu adopted a four-fold election strategy to win the elections of September 1999.

I. Careful Selection of Candidates

While selecting candidates, Naidu decided to chop off deadwood and rope in fresh candidates. He denied party nominations to 70 of the sitting members of the previous House and fielded as many as 119 new faces, of whom 73 won. A fresh candidate, K. Vijaya Rama Rao, a former Director of the CBI, defeated the powerful P. Janardhana Reddy, Labour Minister in a former Congress Government. The defeat of Reddy in Khairatabad (Hyderabad) Assembly seat, which he had won four times in the past, was the biggest upset for the Congress. Rao's victory showed that the urban middle class opted for a professional without any political past.

II. Gesture to Women

As the rural women formed the unfailing vote bank of the TDP, Naidu made sure of their support through his DWACRA scheme. Being a political realist, Naidu understood that the debate in the Lok Sabha on the reservation of seats for women in the elected bodies had made a great impact on the urban women electorate. So to attract the women voters, Naidu fielded as many as 33 women candidates, of whom 21 won.

III. Welfare Measures

A number of welfare measures with a populist touch were introduced to attract different sections of the electorate. These measures included: 1. *Mundadugu* (Step Forward) for the downtrodden 2. *Cheyuta* (Helping Hand) for the disabled 3. *Adarana* (Hospitality) for the artisans. These schemes were started before the announcement of the polling dates.

Deepam (Light) Scheme

To catch the imagination of the rural households, Naidu announced Deepam scheme for supplying cooking gas cylinders free of cost to 10 lakh households. As he could not beat the deadline of the Election Commission for the implementation of the scheme, Naidu blamed the Congress for putting hurdles in the execution of the scheme.

Roshni (Light) Programme for the Muslims

Naidu went out of the way to appease the Muslims. He launched the Roshni programme and lavishly granted funds for renovating mosques and opened a large number of Urdu schools. He also made Urdu the second official language of the State.

IV. Economic Reforms: Vision 2020

Naidu announced that through economic reforms he would create *Swarna Andhra Pradesh* (Golden Andhra Pradesh). The roadmap for the State's development was enshrined in the Vision 2020 document. He promised to develop infrastructure of the State by entrusting the construction of new highways, ports, and electric power plants to private parties.

Spectacular Victory

Naidu's election strategy and his far-sighted alliance with the BJP enabled him to sweep the polls by winning as many as 181 seats in the 294 member House. His alliance partner BJP bagged 12 seats. The Congress could win only 90 seats.

One third of 181 TDP MLAs were first-timers. Forty were professionals like lawyers, doctors, and engineers before plunging into politics. One hundred and thirty eight members were graduates.

NAIDU'S SECOND TENURE AS CHIEF MINISTER OCTOBER 1999 TO MAY 2004

Naidu was sworn in as the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh for the second time on 11 October, 1999. While forming the ministry, Naidu showed his penchant for bold initiatives. About a half of the ministers of his first Cabinet were dropped. In his 37 member Cabinet, as many as 22 were new faces. One welcome feature of his Cabinet was the extra weightage given to women. He inducted five women, three of them with Cabinet rank. The key portfolio of Commercial Taxes was entrusted to a woman. Pratibha Bharati, a former Minister, was made the Speaker of the Assembly, the first woman and Dalit to hold the post.

Lok Sabha Elections

In the Lok Sabha Elections, the TDP won 29 of the 42 seats of the State. The BJP won 7 of the 8 seats it contested. The TDP-BJP alliance benefited both the parties. The performance of the Congress was dismal. It could win only five seats. The interesting point to note was that the two latest entrants into the Congress in Andhra Pradesh, S. Jaipal Reddy and Renuka Choudhary, won from Miryalaguda and Khammam respectively. Both the seats belong to Telangana region, which was considered to be the stronghold of the Communists. The stalwarts of the Congress like K. Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy, P. Sivasankar and P. Upendra were defeated at Kurnool, Tenali and Vijayawada respectively.

After the announcement of the results, Naidu wrote to the President, K. R. Narayanan, informing him that the TDP would extend support to the National Democratic Alliance (NDA) led by Atal Bihari Vajpayee Government. Earlier, in February 1998, when Vajpayee formed his Government, Naidu conveyed orally to the President that he would remain neutral between the BJP and the Congress.

Though the TDP with 29 members was the second largest group in the Lok Sabha after the BJP, Naidu decided not to participate in the NDA Government of Vajpayee. The TDP MPs were keen to join the Union Cabinet on the plea that the BJP Ministers from A. P. would appropriate credit for the assistance the State got from the Centre. Further, they could exercise a corrective role in the policies of the Centre from within to protect the State interests.

Naidu had his own reasons for keeping his MPs out of the Union Cabinet. He relished his position as the king maker at Delhi and was afraid that by participating in the NDA Government, another power centre of the TDP may grow at Delhi and undermine his position in the State.

Problems Ahead

Naidu's victory was perceived as a vote for development. A natural consequence of this perception was people's expectations from Naidu's rule increased significantly. They wanted that his Government should perform well and implement the election promises of economic reforms and high-ech development.

Like the common people, the corporate sector was also expecting too much from the "man with the laptop" who was in tune with the 21st century. Naidu could fulfill these expectations only if he could mobilise enough funds as the State was in a financial mess. Its borrowings from the international financial institutions stood at 22,000 crores by 1999.

Payment of interest for these loans itself was a burden for the State. Rising of internal revenues was not that easy in a tax burdened State. The State needed growth rate of 7% per annum to keep pace with the rest of the country.

To develop infrastructure significant, foreign investments had to be attracted. This again was difficult as the States like Tamil Nadu, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Gujarat were regarded as better destinations by foreign investors. In short, money was the crux of the matter. The Centre and global financial institutions had to bail the State from its financial crunch.

It must be said to the credit of Naidu that by his techno-savvy approach he had developed Hyderabad as an attractive centre of Information Technology. The International Business School had made Hyderabad an important centre of modern learning in the country. Naidu asserted that the new millennium would see the emergence of a "Knowledge Society" in Andhra, in which technology would play a key role.

Clinton's Visit to Hyderabad March 24, 2000

The visit of the US President Bill Clinton to Hyderabad on 24 March, 2000, testified to the fact that Andhra Pradesh had come of age. That the State was witnessing a new chapter in change and progress, especially in the IT field, was aptly proved by the fact that more than 25 per cent of Indian software professionals in the US were Telugus.

Andhra Pradesh was regarded as the most "happening state" in the country. Naidu could make it modem and efficient provided he took tough decisions and putsan end to his populist schemes. As Naidu was a politician with a vision, it was hoped that he would be able to push through his progressive policies in the second term and usher in *Swarna* (Golden) Andhra Pradesh.

16
RESURGENCE OF THE CONGRESS

The defeat of the Congress Party at the General Elections of 1999 to the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly demoralised the party. It could win only 90 seats as opposed to 181 seats won by the TDP in the 294 member house. Many Congress leaders, both at the State and the Centre, felt that the party had no chance of making a comeback for years to come. They believed that the glorious days of Chandrababu Naidu would continue for another decade or more.

Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy became the Leader of the Opposition in the Assembly. From that moment, he was determined to bring back the Congress Party to power in Andhra Pradesh once again. He made it a point to highlight the shortcomings of the TDP, both in the Assembly and outside.

Chandrababu Naidu's zeal for economic reforms and his massive victory at polls made him a cult figure in the eyes of the World Bank and he was regarded as the role model for other Chief Ministers in India. These encomiums turned the head of Naidu, who openly declared that he would administer the State as a CEO of a corporate house. This declaration did not go well with the rural electorate who believed Naidu was pro-rich and pro-elite. The continuous drought during the years 2001 to 2004 made matters worse for Naidu, who did not pay any attention to agriculture and did not construct any irrigation works. The villagers were mostly agricultural workers and as they found it difficult to eke out a living, they began to migrate to other States in search of employment. Further, the Central Government also ignored the sufferings of the rural masses. At that time, there was no NREGS (National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme) to provide work to the rural masses for at least 100 days in a year at the expense of the Government.

Padayatra or Walkathon of YSR

Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy, or YSR as he was popularly known, decided to study the real situation in the villages by undertaking a *padayatra* or tour of the villages throughout the State on foot. The 1,600 km padayatra was undertaken in the summer of 2003 from Chevella in Rangareddy district

to Ichapuram in Srikakulam district. Many Congress leaders, who were themselves in awe of Chandrababu Naidu, ridiculed the padayatra and felt that the Congress was doomed.

YSR thought differently. He wanted to emphasise that the Congress believed in Mahatma Gandhi's dictum that "India lives in its villages". To bring the Congress once again to power, he paid special attention to the poor and farming community and emphasised that Chandrababu Naidu and TDP were pro-rich and pro-urban. The successful 1,600 km padayatra was undoubtedly a crucial factor in the Congress regaining power in 2004 elections.

2004 Elections

In the elections held for the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly in April 2004, the Indian National Congress Party staged a spectacular comeback, after nine years in opposition, by winning as many as 189 seats in the 294 member house. The massive victory of the Congress was due to many factors.

On the political front, Chandrababu Naidu made a tactical mistake by sidelining K. Chandrasekhara Rao, a former TDP Minister in Chandrababu's first Cabinet. After the 1999 elections, K. Chandrasekhara Rao, popularly known as KCR, was denied ministership and was further humiliated with the offer of the Deputy Speaker's post.

Telangana Rashtra Samiti

KCR left the TDP and launched his own political outfit called Telangana Rashtra Samiti (TRS) on 27 April, 2001, to fight for the formation of a separate Telangana State, which was an emotive issue in the region.

The Congress Party exploited the difficulties of Chandrababu Naidu by forging a formidable alliance with TRS, CPI (M) and CPI to oppose the TDP-BJP alliance. In the landslide victory for the Congress, TDP could win only 56 seats. BJP was completely wiped out as it could not get even 10 seats.

The architect of the Congress victory, Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy, was elected as the leader of the Congress Party in the Legislature and he took the oath of office as Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh on 14 May, 2004.

First Ministry of YSR

14 May, 2004 to May 2009

On 14 May, 2004, Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy became the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh, ending the nine year long rule of the TDP. The Congress was able to come to power by promising a plethora of welfare measures to farmers and the BPL (Below the Poverty Line) poor. One of

the main promises made in the election manifesto was free electric power supply to the farmers. Another important promise was the construction of irrigation projects and supply of rice at Rs. 2 a kg for the poor.

Schemes Implemented by the YSR Lead Government

Free Electric Power

YSR's first step after assuming office was to sign a file sanctioning free power supply to the farmers. The scheme was, however, modified later. It excluded the rich farmers paying income tax from the scheme. This step of free supply of electric power to the farmers helped to a certain extent to revive the rural economy crippled during the nine year TDP rule.

Jalayagnam

Jalayagnam can roughly be termed as construction of irrigation projects. YSR's main obsession was water. Having come from the parched Rayalaseema region, he knew the importance of water for irrigation and daily domestic use.

To accelerate the economic progress of Andhra Pradesh ,YSR planned to construct Rs. 46,000 crores worth of irrigation projects in five years. He planned to build more than 30 major and minor irrigation projects. Two major projects were Polavaram on the Godavari river and Pulichintala on the Krishna river.

Polavaram Project

Polavaram Project on the Godavari river was a massive project. It was named as Indira Sagar in memory of Indira Gandhi, former Prime Minister of India. Polavaram was a small village in West Godavari district. The project would result in the submersion of few acres of land in Orissa. Hence, was raising objections to the construction of the project and even went to the Supreme Court to hinder its execution. YSR was able to get a clearance for its construction from the different agencies at the Centre. Here it is worthwhile to state that, before independence, the project was mooted for construction by Sonti Venkata Ramamurty, ICS, Advisor to the Governor of Madras. He named the project Ramapada Sagar since the waters from the project, when completed, would touch the feet of the idol of Sri Rama at the famous temple of Bhadrachalam. After the tragic demise of YSR, a central waterworks irrigation committee visited the site of construction and made an assessment to declare it a national project.

Mid Level Projects

To get quick results within two years, YSR laid emphasis on the construction of mid level projects, distributed in all the three regions of the

State. Among them, Alisagar and Chokka Rao Lift Irrigation Scheme on the Godavari river in Telangana, Vamsadhara Stage II Scheme and Tadipudi Lift Irrigation Scheme in North Coastal Andhra and Telugu Ganga Project in Rayalaseema are noteworthy.

Among the projects to be completed in five years were Srisailam Left Branch Canal, Sriram Sagar (Stage II) Project and Chevela-Yellampalli-Pranahita Project.

Land Distribution

During his 1,600 km padayatra, YSR had got a first hand knowledge of the plight of the landless poor and decided to ameliorate their condition. Being an admirer of Indira Gandhi who envisioned empowering the landless poor, YSR began to distribute land in a big way to promote rural development. As soon as the Congress returned to power in 2004, YSR ordered the administration to conduct a survey and identify the beneficiaries for the land distribution. To preserve the vote bank among the women, *pattas* were registered in favour of women members of the beneficiary families. The previous practice of collecting land value from the beneficiaries was given up and land was distributed free. A majority of the beneficiaries were from ST, SC, and OBC classes. The programme was launched on 26 January, 2005, from Kodangal in the Mahaboobnagar district in Telangana region.

Indira Prabha

Another aspect of the land distribution programme was the land development programme. To increase the productivity of the assigned lands and encourage horticulture, the cost of inputs were subsidised at a cost of Rs. 500 crores.

This was implemented in 9,270 blocks to benefit 2.72 lakh families. The programme was launched on November 19, 2004, in Serigondapalem village in Bolapally Mandal of Guntur district. The twin programmes of land distribution and development are considered as pivotal for rural and agricultural development. They began to alleviate the condition of the masses in the villages.

Food for Work Programme

The twin problems of drought and bleak prospects of getting remunerative prices for farm produce, which resulted in the fall in the cultivated crop area and subsequent migration of agricultural workers to neighbouring States, was sought to be tackled by the "Food for Work" programme. Under the scheme, farm workers were provided work for 100 days in a year. Actually, this was a Central Government scheme, known as NREGS (National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme).

vehicles with medical and paramedical staff used to rush to the site of the accident within 10 minutes to take the victim to the nearby hospital which, without any formalities, attended to the victim or patient immediately.

Arogya Sri was a feather in the cap of YSR administration. It was such a big success that the Chief Ministers of other States, including far off Manipur, visited Hyderabad to study the nuances of the scheme. As a matter of fact, the Manipur Chief Minister, Okram Ibobi Singh, was in Hyderabad on the very day (2 September, 2009) when YSR met his tragic death.

While launching the scheme, YSR never thought about financial implications. When the officials suggested to charge a token amount of Rs. 100 from the beneficiaries, the Chief Minister turned down the proposal stating that even a single paisa should not be collected.

Indiramma Housing Scheme

Along with his pro-farmer schemes to tackle the basic needs of hunger and poverty, YSR launched Indiramma housing scheme to provide shelter to the vast masses of poor in urban and semi-urban areas. The scheme was named after Indira Gandhi, who was a demi-god to vast masses of underprivileged people after she launched the "Garibi Hatao" programme. Even today, she is endearingly remembered in Andhra as "Indiramma".

Pavala Vaddi (3% interest) Scheme

Many poor women in Andhra formed themselves into what were called "Self Help Groups" to eke out a living by setting up petty businesses. These groups were provided loans and seed money to set up business by the Government at a nominal interest of 3%. The scheme was popularly known as "Pavala Vaddi".

Urban Development Schemes

YSR believed in the integrated development of the State. Hence, he continued to implement many schemes initiated by Chandrababu Naidu to develop IT and ITES. He prevailed upon the IT majors like Wipro and Satyam to open new centres in tier II cities like Visakhapatnam and Vijayawada.

Further, he began to develop urban infrastructure. To make Hyderabad a world-class metro city, a new airport was constructed at Shamshabad, a suburb of Hyderabad.

Rajiv Gandhi International Airport

During the rule of TDP, Chandrababu Naidu conceived an idea to build a new airport at Shamshabad, and YSR gave shape to Chandrababu's dream of a new airport.

The new airport was developed by GMR (Grandhi Mallikarjuna Rao) Group, in collaboration with partners from Malaysia in a record time of

YSR paid special attention to this scheme and its proper implementation. In the severe drought years of 2001–03, there was a spate of suicides among distressed farmers. This became one of the most decisive issues in the 2004 elections. Monetary compensation to the families affected by the suicide of farmers was paid immediately. A committee to study the entire range of agrarian distress was set up under the Chairmanship of Prof. Jayati Ghosh.

Prajapatham Programme

To discuss various issues like discrepancies in the delayed payment under the Food for Work programme, selection of beneficiaries of housing scheme and bring them to the notice of the officials in the presence of the villagers and MLAs, Prajapatham, a month long programme, was launched in May 2005, at the Chevella constituency of the Rangareddy district. YSR utilised the platform to rebut the criticism of the TDP on the execution of the irrigation projects and declared his resolve to develop the rural economy.

Rice at Rs. 2 a Kg

The great USP (Unique Selling Proposition) among YSR's schemes was the supply of rice at Rs. 2 a kg to the white ration card holders. People who were BPL (Below the Poverty Line) were issued ration cards with a white colour. Actually, this scheme was first initiated by NTR but later abandoned by Chandrababu Naidu. The scheme was hijacked by YSR in the elections of 2009. The scheme, using the public distribution system, proved to be an instant hit and helped the State to send as many as 33 Congress MPs to the Lok Sabha. No other State could surpass this number.

Arogya Sri Scheme (Health Insurance Scheme for the Poor)

Arogya Sri was another remarkable scheme launched by YSR. Being a physician by training, YSR felt that there was an urgent need to look after the medical needs of the poor masses both in urban and rural areas. Under this scheme, white ration card holders could avail treatment for their health problems in corporate hospitals without paying even a rupee. The Government would reimburse the entire expenditure, running sometimes to lakhs of rupees per patient, to the corporate hospitals. The scheme came as a boon to a large number of poor people.

108 and 104 Ambulance Services

Ambulance Services with the unique numbers 104 and 108 provided instant services to the victims of accidents and with health emergency problems.

The 108 Scheme was originally funded by the Byrraju Foundation of the now defamed Satyam Computers company. Under this scheme, ambulance

vehicles with medical and paramedical staff used to rush to the site of the accident within 10 minutes to take the victim to the nearby hospital which, without any formalities, attended to the victim or patient immediately.

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The new airport was developed by GMR (Grandhi Mallikarjuna Rao) Group, in collaboration with partners from Malaysia in a record time of

three years. RGIA was dubbed the latest jewel in the crown of Hyderabad. The foundation for the Rs. 1,400 crore project was laid by Sonia Gandhi. The airport came into operation in April 2008. The airport boasted of 4.26 km long runway, the longest in India, with high-tech lighting system at both ends. The RGIA is regarded today as one of the best airports in the world.

Controversies

Many controversies were raised regarding Polavarm and Pulichintala projects. As regards the former, it is already noted that Orissa Government raised objection as a small piece of forest land in Malkangiri district was going to be submerged. Regarding Pulichintala project, TDP and other opposition parties questioned the intentions of the Chief Minister. They argued that YSR's main intention in the construction of the project was to divert the waters of the Krishna river to Rayalaseema region at the expense of Coastal Andhra and Telangana.

Inflated Tenders

The Jalayagnam programme ran into troubled waters on the issue of inflated tenders and payment of compensation to displaced persons. YSR did not agree with the criticism, stating that there was no basis in the charge, as he had not flouted norms established for engineering procurement and construction. The TDP boss Chandrababu Naidu began to trumpet that the Chief Minister was making money for himself and the Congress party out of water. The criticism did not hold water as the people hailed YSR as the "Modern Bhagiratha", the sage who brought Ganga from the Himalayas to North India. As a matter of fact it was Jalayagnam and "Rice at Rs. 2 a kg" that brought the Congress to power for the second consecutive term in May 2009.

Visit of President Bush

George W. Bush was the second US President to visit Hyderabad. During the regime of Chandrababu Naidu, President Bill Clinton visited Hyderabad and evinced interest in its IT development. During the regime of YSR, President Bush visited Hyderabad. He spent much time at the Agricultural University and noticed how the State was giving importance to the development of agriculture and horticulture.

The first ministry of YSR, during the years May 2004 to May 2009, saw the all-round development of the State in the fields of agriculture and industry.

On the political front, YSR succeeded in curbing the violence of the Naxalites and brought down the influence of the Maoists to a large extent. Similarly, the Telangana movement of KCR lost its vigour and began fizzling out.

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GENERAL ELECTIONS OF APRIL–MAY 2009

Along with the General Elections to the Lok Sabha, elections to the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly took place in April–May 2009. The Assembly elections were conducted in two stages, i.e., on 16 April and 23 April, 2009. In the first phase, polling took place for the Telangana and North Coastal Andhra regions. The remaining parts of Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema regions went to the polls on 23 April, 2009.

Praja Rajyam Party (PRP)

One of the interesting features of this election was the emergence of a new political outfit called the Praja Rajyam Party. It was launched by the mega star of the Telugu tinsel world, Varaprasada Rao, popularly known as "Chiranjeevi". Praja Rajyam means "peoples' government". The party was launched with much fanfare. The hype in print, audio and visual media was such that many gullible voters believed that Chiranjeevi would wipe out the electoral prospects of both the Congress and the TDP. They felt that just as NTR brought political power to the *kamma* community, Chiranjeevi would do the same for his *kapu* community, in 2009.

Telugu Desam Party, the representative of the economically dominant kammas, who controlled the Telugu film industry and real estate business, are known as Chowdaries or Nayudus. Chowdaries, who also controlled the Telugu print and electronic media, felt that the emergence of PRP would eat away the Congress vote and bring TDP once again into power. TDP, however, received a big jolt when one of its prominent members, T. Devender Goud, who was considered as number two in the party and belonged to the BC community of the Telangana region, left the party to establish his own Nava Telangana Party. Also, many prominent non-kamma members of the TDP joined Chiranjeevi's PRP.

Devender Goud, who floated the Nava Telangana Party was a member of TDP since its inception in 1983. He was a minister in the Cabinets of both NTR and Chandrababu Naidu. In 1995, he supported Naidu against

NTR. His rise in TDP was spectacular. He became the member of the TDP's politburo and was regarded as number two in the party. Goud miscalculated the political situation in the State in 2009. The Telangana sentiment was no longer strong and the media hype was such that Chiranjeevi considered himself as the next Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. Goud realised that Nava Telangana Party was like a stillborn baby. So just before the elections of April 2009, he merged his party in PRP. Having left his position of number two in TDP, Goud tried to regain that position in PRP, but failed.

Maha Kutami

Chandrababu Naidu, being a political realist, correctly assessed that the Congress Party was on a strong wicket. The PRP would eat away TDP's vote bank and indirectly help the Congress Party to retain power. To corner the Congress party, Chandrababu Naidu brought different political parties like CPI(M), CPI and even TRS, to join hands with the TDP to form what was called *Maha Kutami* or Grand Alliance. The four parties of the Maha Kutami, namely, the TDP, CPI (M), CPI and TRS, had a one-point agenda—to defeat the Congress at the polls. None of the parties had a common ideology. CPI (M) opposed the formation of separate Telangana State, whereas the TRS was formed specifically for that purpose. The TDP's policy of economic liberalisation was opposed tooth and nail by both the CPI (M) and the CPI.

YSR was delighted when CPI (M), CPI and TRS joined hands with the TDP to form the Maha Kutami and not with Chiranjeevi's PRP. He felt certain that PRP would split the anti-Congress vote. The fear of the consolidation of the anti-Congress vote fizzled out when PRP was kept at a distance by Chandrababu Naidu, who saw in Chiranjeevi another NTR in the making.

TDP's Family Pack

The major party of the Maha Kutami was TDP. Chandrababu Naidu, who had lost the 2004 elections in spite of hobnobbing with the BJP, was not confident of defeating the Congress on his own. So he roped in the members of NTR's family to bolster the prospects of the TDP. Balakrishna, one of the sons of NTR and a popular movie star, began to tour the State to draw voters the TDP and his brother-in-law Chandrababu Naidu. Here, it may be stated that Balakrishna's daughter, Brahmani, was married to the son of Chandrababu Naidu. This sort of marriages among cousins is unique among the Telugu people and is known as *menarikam*.

However, the star attraction of the TDP was "Junior NTR", a grandson of NTR. His father, Harikrishna, was the founder of the short-lived political party called Anna Telugu Desam. Junior NTR had his own crazy followers. D. Purandareswari, the eldest daughter of NTR, joined the Congress party after her husband Dr. Venkateswara Rao left the TDP

following differences with Chandrababu Naidu. Purandareswari was rewarded by the Congress by making her a Minister of State in the Central Cabinet.

Cash Transfer Scheme

As the Congress Party was on a strong wicket with rice at Rs. 2 a kg scheme, Chandrababu Naidu announced a new scheme called "Cash Transfer". Naidu announced that if TDP was voted to power, the Government would make a monthly cash grant of Rs. 2,000, 1,500 and 1,000 to every poor family, depending on the number of members in it.

Apart from the Cash Transfer Scheme, Maha Kutami promised free supply of colour TVs to the poor. Both KCR and Chandrababu Naidu tried to stir up the Telangana sentiment by stating that YSR and Sonia Gandhi were preventing its formation.

PRP: A Private Limited Company

Though Chiranjeevi was regarded as the founder of PRP, his brother- in-law, Allu Aravind, was running the actual show in the party. Allu Aravind, the producer of Ghajini, the blockbuster Hindi movie, was the General Secretary of the party. Pavan Kalyan, a leading Telugu film actor, and brother of Chiranjeevi, headed the Youth Wing of the PRP. Another brother of Chiranjeevi, Naga Babu, was a member of the politburo of the party. For all practical purposes, PRP became a private limited company of the Chiranjeevi family.

Non-members of Chiranjeevi's family like Parakala Prabhakar, a well- known TV anchor, left the PRP describing it as a destructive force, a poisonous tree and a private company.

Lok Satta Party

Jaya Prakash Narayana, a former IAS officer who for may years tried to make the educated middle class take interest in politics and contest elections, floated a party called Lok Satta or "people's power" and decided to contest the elections. Political analysts felt that the impact of the party would be nil.

YSR's Confidence

During the first time rule of YSR (2004–2009), the opposition parties levelled charges of corruption against his Government. Massive scams pertaining to Volkswagen car company and Satyam Computers dented the image of the Government among the educated elite. Further, the largest circulated Telugu dailies like *Eenadu* and *Andhra Jyoti* highlighted corruption in the implementation of the Jalayagnam scheme.

YSR received encouraging feedback about the success of his "Rice at Rs. 2 a kg" scheme. He was able to analyse the political situation shrewdly and made a fairly correct estimate of the number of seats the Congress party would win. He was so confident that he carried on the propaganda in favour of his party single-handed. He did not allow the ministers to stir out of their own constituencies. When the results were announced, his confidence was justified as far as the Lok Sabha seats were concerned. The Congress bagged as many as 33 seats out of 42. In the Assembly elections, the Congress secured a working majority.

PRP received a drubbing. It could win only 18 seats in the Assembly of 294. Chiranjeevi, who contested from two constituencies, Narsapur and Tirupati, could win the latter seat only. TRS could win two Parliamentary seats only. KCR was elected from Mahaboobnagar and Vijayasanthi from Medak. As expected, the MIM party retained the Hyderabad seat. The Lok Satta Party could win only one Assembly seat, Kukutpally, from where its founder, J. P. Narayana, was elected.

TDP won as many as 90 seats in the Assembly. It lost a number of seats by a narrow margin. PRP played the part of a spoilsport as far as TDP was concerned. The biggest defeat was that of Allu Aravind, who lost the Anakapalli Lok Sabha seat.

In short, the elections of 2009 vindicated the policies of YSR and made him the unchallenged leader of the Congress party in Andhra Pradesh.

YEDUGURI SANDINTI RAJASEKHARA REDDY (1949–2009)

Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy was born on 8 July, 1949, in the Christian Missionary Hospital in Pulivendula village of Kadapa district. His father, Raja Reddy, and mother, Jayamma, had five sons and one daughter. The second son was Rajasekhara Reddy. His other brothers were George Reddy, Vivekananda Reddy, Sudhakar Reddy and Ravindranath Reddy. His only sister was named Vimalamma.

After completing his primary education at Pulivendula, Rajasekhara Reddy did his pre-University at the Andhra Layola College, Vijayawada. He did his M.B.B.S. at M.R. Medical College, Gulbarga, in Karnataka. Here he struck up a lifelong friendship with his classmate K. V. P. Ramachandra Rao. YSR did his house-job at Sri Venkateswara Medical College, Tirupati. He worked for some time in the Campbell Hospital of the Church of South India at Jammaulamadugu in Kadapa district. In 1973, he established a 70 bedd charitable hospital at Pulivendula in his father's name.

He entered politics in 1975 and became Secretary of the Youth Congress of Kadapa district. He successfully contested elections from the Pulivendula

Assembly seat six times (1978, 1983, 1985, 1999, 2004 and 2009). He was elected to the Lok Sabha four times (1989, 1991, 1996 and 1998). His unparalleled victories, both to the State Assembly and Lok Sabha, made his friends comment "YSR defeats defeat". He became the President of the Andhra Pradesh Congress Committee (APCC) in 1983 and continued up to 1985. His second tenure was from 1998 to 2000.

Between 1980 and 1983, YSR was the Minister for Rural Development, Health and Education and from 1999 to 2004, he was the Leader of the Opposition in the Andhra Pradesh Legislative Assembly.

His Padayatras

YSR undertook padayatras or tour of villages on foot. His first padayatra in 1998 was from Lepakshi in Anantapur district to Pothireddipadu in Kurnool district, demanding water for the parched Rayalaseema region. His second padayatra, convering a distance of 1,600 km, from Chevella in Rangareddy district to Ichapuram in Srikakulam district, became a famous in Andhra history and brought Congress party to power in 2004, after nine long years in opposition. Besides padayatras, in August 2000, YSR, as the Leader of the Opposition, went on a hunger strike for 14 days protesting against the increase in electricity charges.

Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh: 14 May, 2004, to 2 September, 2009

On 14 May, 2004, YSR took charge as the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh and continued in that position till his death on 2 September, 2009. Of the 14 Congress Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh, only Kasu Brahmananda Reddy and Jalagam Vengal Rao ruled the State continuously for four years. YSR set up a record for ruling the State without a break for five years and a hundred days. He was the first CM to die in office.

His Second Spell as CM

In the General Elections of April-May 2009 to the Andhra Pradesh Legislature Assembly and Lok Sabha, YSR was responsible for the Congress victory. He secured for the Congress as many as 33 out of 42 Lok Sabha seats of A.P. For the Assembly, he could secure only a working majority.

Racchabanda Programme

YSR was dissatisfied with the performance of the Congress in the Assembly elections as it could secure only a bare majority. So he wanted to revive the mass contact with the people with the *pallebata* (village route) programme. After the end of the first session of the Assembly, he wanted

to begin the pallebata programme. One segment of the pallebata was called *Racchabanda*. Racchabanda is a place in every village where a big platform is built around a big tree. Here the villagers gather to gossip and discuss their problems.

YSR's Demise

Helicopter Flight

On 2 September, 2009, YSR took off from Begumpet Airport, Hyderabad, to go to Anupally village in the Chittoor district to start the Racchabanda programme. The visit was finalised only at 5.00 a.m. on that day. It was to be a short flight of two hours. The twin-engine BELL 430 helicopter purchased by the Government in 1998 was used, since a newer helicopter AW 139 had gone for an annual check-up and was to be available at 10.30. a.m. As YSR wanted to be at Anupally village by 10.30. a.m., he used the 11-year-old BELL 430 helicopter.

The helicopter was piloted by Group Captain S. M. Bhatia and the Co-pilot was M. S. Reddy. Other members on the flight included the Principal Secretary, R. Subrahamanyam and Chief Security Officer, A. S. C. Wesley. In all, five persons were on board.

The helicopter had to pass above Nallamala range of hills, which are part of central Eastern Ghats.

Crash

At 9.30. a.m., when the helicopter was above the Nallamala range, it lost radio contact. At 10.30.a.m. the ATC (Air Traffic Controller) informed the Government that communication was lost.

Long Search

At 11.30 a.m., the search for the missing helicopter commenced. The Kurnool Police, A. P. Special Police, anti Maoist Greyhound Commandoes, Octopus—the anti-terrorist commando force, CRPF and the Military were involved in the search mission.

IAF's Chetak, AW 139, Sukhoi M18, NRSC (National Remote Sensing Centre) low flying aircraft were used in the search. It took more than 24 hours to trace the wreckage of the helicopter at Pavuralagutta of the Rudrakonda hill, 70 kms east of Kurnool. The CVR (Cockpit Voice Recorder) of the helicopter was also found and it was examined at Delhi.

The Funeral: 3 September, 2009

The body of YSR was brought to Hyderabad and kept at Lal Bahadur Stadium to enable the public to pay their homage. The body was later shifted to YSR's estate at Idupulapaya, near Pulivendula. The burial took place according to Christian rites. Several Cabinet colleagues of YSR, as well as top opposition leaders, could not reach the venue as they were held up in a 15 km long traffic jam outside the burial site as lakhs of mourners descended on Pulivendula.

Tributes

The Congress Working Committee condoled YSR's tragic death and termed him as "Man of Vision ,Courage and Dynamism".

Sonia Gandhi called YSR as "an ace strategist" who predicted a sweep for the party in 2009 elections when others were sceptical.

Prime Minister Manmohan Singh termed YSR as "outstanding leader" who died as he lived, in the service of the people of A.P. and the country.

President Pratibha Patil, who was on a State visit to Russia, described YSR as a dynamic Chief Minister who worked for the welfare of the people of A.P.

Former Prime Minister, Atal Bihari Vajpayee described Reddy as a hard working energetic man, full of possibilities. Cutting across party lines, the Chief Ministers of different States and political leaders paid glowing tributes to YSR.

An Assessment

YSR, who strode the State political scene like a colossus for a decade, from 1999 to 2009, inspired awe and fear among his friends and enemies respectively. He had to begin with no political legacy to fall back upon. Though born in a rich family, his father, Raja Reddy, was a factionalist and murdered by his rivals.

Though YSR began as an ML A at the age of 29 and became a Minister two years later, he was in the bad books of Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy, Narasimha Rao and others. They pushed him into oblivion for a long time. While he was an MP, YSR developed a close rapport with Rajiv Gandhi, who noticed his intelligence and leadership qualities and made him, with the approval of Indira Gandhi, the president of APCC.

YSR was not a muscleman like his father, but he inculcated Raja Reddy's intolerance towards his opponents and decimated them politically. Telangana separatist movement and Maoist movement, which created obstacles in YSR's political ascendancy, were crushed without much fanfare.

Scams

YSR developed strong feudal tendencies and supported his friends, like Botsa Satyanarayana, when they fell on bad days. This was evident during his first ministry when the Volkswagen scam hit the Government. The State Government paid Rs. 11.5 crores to a person masquerading as a representative of the German firm.

Another extraordinary feature of YSR's relation with the party was that he never raised doubts about his loyalty to the high command. This enabled him to achieve the distinction of being the only Congress leader to serve a full five-year term as the Chief Minister and was on the way to a second full term.

A Man of Great Vision

YSR learnt many lessons from Chandrababu Naidu, as evident from his support for the development of IT and ITES schemes. Further, he tried to develop the tier II cities like Visakhapatnam, Warangal and Tirupati as industrial hubs for the balanced development of the State through investments in IT, biotechnology, etc. For the much neglected Rayalaseema region, especially Kadapa district, an investment of Rs. 10, 000 crores was made on development programmes during 2004–09.

Firm Grip over the Party Leaders

Rajasekhara Reddy understood the State better than his colleagues. He kept under check the incoherent, ill-disciplined faction-ridden party leaders in the districts.

Vision Blended with Action

YSR was a man who blended his vision with action. He was accessible and an industry-friendly leader, who gave infrastructure development equal priority, along with his pet scheme of Jalayagnam. His remarkable achievements in the industrial sector were noticed by the World Bank and it described Andhra Pradesh as one of the best States in India to do business with.

KONJETI ROSAIAH: A SEASONED WAR-HORSE

Konjeti Rosaiah, the number two in YSR's Cabinet, was elevated as the Chief Minister after the latter's tragic death on 2 September, 2009. Rosaiah, a Pranab Mukherjee like figure in A.P., was a member of several Congress Cabinets. He, being a close confidant of YSR represented the continuity of his era.

Rosaiah, born in July 1933, belongs to the Vysya community which constitutes only about 2% of the State's population. Hence, the financially well- off community is unable to play a significant part in the State politics.

While studying at Hindu College, Guntur, way back in 1952, Rosaiah made good use of his oratorial skill to get elected as the General Secretary of the College Union. In 1954, soon after the formation of the Andhra State, Hindu College admitted more students than permitted. To get the extra strength ratified, the college Principal sent Rosaiah to meet the Chief Minister, T. Prakasam, at Kurnool, the then capital of Andhra State. Rosaiah met Prakasam and successfully accomplished his task and returned to a hero's welcome.

After completing his college studies, Rosaiah entered politics under the tutelage of Prof. N. G. Ranga, who left the Congress party and joined the Swatantra Party, established by C. Rajagopalachari. During the 1955 General Elections, Rosaiah, along with his mentor, N. Ranga, toured all the 192 constituencies of the Andhra State. He, however, did not contest the elections. But after the formation of Andhra Pradesh, Rosaiah unsuccessfully contested from the Chirala constituency as the candidate of the Swatantra Party.

In 1968, Rosaiah got elected to the Legislative Council and won two consecutive elections in 1974 and 1980. In 1971, he left the Swatantra Party and joined the Congress. After the Emergency, when the Congress party was split, he chose to remain with Congress (R) and became a leader of the opposition in the Legislative Council.

Dr. Marri Chenna Reddy, who became the CM of A.P. on 6 March, 1978, was unable to bear the caustic criticism of Rosaiah in the Legislative Council. It was rumoured that Chenna Reddy struck a deal with Rosaiah under which the latter left Congress (R) and joined Congress (I). In return, Rosaiah was inducted as a Minister in Chenna Reddy's Cabinet.

After 1979, when Rosaiah became a Minister in Chenna Reddy's Cabinet, he became indispensable to every Congress Chief Minister. And he held various portfolios like Health, Transport, Legislative Affairs and Finance. He was, however, better known as the Finance Minister. He holds the record as a Minister who presented the budget more times than any other Finance Minister, both at the Centre and the states.

Member of the Lok Sabha

Rosaiah was elected as the member of the Lok Sabha from the Tenali constituency in 1996. As he preferred State politics more, he refused to contest the Lok Sabha mid-term elections in 1998. During 1995–97, he was the president of the APCC.

After being an MLA for a number of years, Rosaiah did not contest the 2009 elections to the Assembly. However, he re-entered the Legislative Council in April 2009. He became the Finance Minister when YSR formed his second consecutive Government in May 2009. After the tragic death of YSR, Rosaiah was inducted as the Chief Minister on 3 September, 2009.

Though known as number two, in several Congress Cabinets, Rosaiah was sidelined for the top post, as he did not come from the dominant Reddy community. In 1992, when P. V. Narasimha Rao was the Prime Minister, Rosaiah was considered as the replacement of the Chief Minister, Janardhana Reddy. But finally Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy got the coveted position. At that time even YSR was also in the race.

Race for CM's Post

Soon after the body of YSR was laid to rest, mourning gave way to power politics, when the loyalists of YSR unleashed an intense campaign demanding Jagan Mohan Reddy, son of YSR, to be made Chief Minister immediately. The campaign was spearheaded by K. V. P. Ramachandra Rao, a close aide of YSR. The campaign reached its peak on the evening of 3 September, 2009, when Rosaiah was sworn in as CM.

KVP began to make frequent trips to Delhi and meet Sonia Gandhi, Pranab Mukherjee, Ahmed Patel, Veerappa Moily and other Central leaders to explain "public pulse", which he found to be in favour of Jagan Mohan Reddy. His single point agenda was to elevate Jagan Mohan Reddy as CM.

The lobbying of "loyalist of YSR", to project Jagan as the suitable candidate to take forward the legacy of YSR, did not go well with the Central leadership. Comparison of Jagan with Rajiv Gandhi and the open threat to split the Congress party became counter productive.

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A.P. REORGANISATION ACT 2014
Developments During 2009–2014

KCR's Fast

KCR galvanised the movement for a separate Telugu State by undertaking a fast-unto-death. Chief Minister Rosiah failed to tackle the volatile situation. Suddenly, the Home Minister at the Centre, P. Chidambaram, announced on 9 December, 2009, that the Central Government had decided to form a separate state of Telangana. KCR broke his fast, but the jubilation of the Telangana masses was short-lived. The Congress MPs from the Andhra area threatened to pull down the Central Government. Prime Minister Manmohan Singh needed the Andhra MPs to stay in power. So, the Central Government made a U-turn and withdrew the statement of the Home Minister.

Justice Sri Krishna Commission

To placate the people of Telangana, the Central Government announced that a commission led by Justice Sri Krishna would look into the matter and make its recommendations on the formation of Telangana. The appointment of Sri Krishna Commission cooled down the political tension in the State.

Kiran Kumar Reddy as CM

Rosiah resigned and the Congress high command nominated Kiran Kumar Reddy, the Speaker of the A.P. Legislative Assembly, as the Chief Minister. He hailed from the Chittoor district of Rayalaseema region. He was the last CM of united A.P.

Sri Krishna Commission Report

The Sri Krishna Commission's report was not made public. It was speculated that it rejected the demand for a separate State as Telangana area was more developed than Rayalaseema and north Andhra.

KCR's Novel Tactics

KCR decided to bring the masses into the public to show his strength. He launched what was called *Sakala Janula Samme* or strike by all people. Unruly mobs came into the open to obstruct the movement of vehicles and forced the business establishments to close. The *Rastha Roko* paralysed the road and rail transportation leading to mass unrest. Under *Vanta Varpu* (the general meaning of this Telugu idiom is "cooking and partaking of cooked food"), thousands of women came into the open and cooked food on public roads. The masses who gathered around were fed. This free lunch scheme became a big success; the administration was paralysed.

Meanwhile, Sonia Gandhi tried to improve the position of Congress in the State. She invited Chiranjeevi to New Delhi and succeeded in getting his Praja Rajyam Party (PRP), which had 18 MLAs in the Andhra Assembly, to merge with the Congress party. The political novice Chiranjeevi merged his party in Congress and, in return, he was given the position of Minister of State in Manmohan Singh's cabinet, with the portfolio of Tourism. It was rumoured that Chiranjeevi was overjoyed because as the Tourism Minister he could visit foreign countries at the expense of the Government. Sonia Gandhi tried to play a similar trick on KCR. KCR who was emerging as the "neo Chanakya" of Indian politics, was more than a match for Sonia. He simply allowed her to believe that he would merge his party, TRS, into Congress. The BJP, which was hoping to make a comeback at the Centre, came into the open and supported the Telangana agitation. One of the prominent leaders of BJP, Sushma Swaraj, visited various towns in Telangana and supported KCR's demand for a separate State. Thus, the political opponents, the Congress party and the BJP, joined hands in favour of a separate State as they believed that creation of Telangana would be politically favourable to them. So, KCR ended up getting the backing of two major national parties to support formation of Telangana.

Emergence of Telangana

By the middle of 2013, the Congress party realised that the formation of a separate Telangana State was inevitable. It felt that the BJP may create a separate state of Telangana, if it came to power at New Delhi. Sonia Gandhi felt that the Congress could come to power for the third time in a row, if it created a separate state for Telangana. The MIM party, which had a sway over the Muslim votes in Hyderabad, opposed the division of A.P. However, MIM said it would support a separate State for Telangana if the Rayalaseema districts were part of the mix, as there were considerable pockets of Muslims in some Rayalaseema districts.

The move to create "Rayala-Telangana" did not find favour with the majority of Telangana people. A meeting called "All Party Meeting" was

convened by Sonia Gandhi, where the majority of the party leaders supported the creation of Telangana. Some Congress ministers hailing from Andhra districts floated the idea of Hyderabad as a Union Territory that could serve as the capital for both Andhra Pradesh and Telangana. This idea did not find too much support as the Andhra region was not geographically connected to Hyderabad.

TRS was more than convinced that its efforts to create the Telangana State would fructify soon. KCR believed that Hyderabad city, which was geographically a part of Telangana, would automatically become the capital of Telangana.

Under Article 3 of the Indian Constitution, the Central Government has the power to create new States and alter the boundaries of the States. The Congress party decided to go ahead and bifurcate Andhra Pradesh. The Home Ministry drafted a bill for the bifurcation of A.P., sent it to the A.P. State Government and asked it to convene a special session of the Legislative Assembly to ascertain the opinion of the members. The A.P. Legislative Assembly discussed the Bill and, as expected, the MLAs of the Telangana region supported the Bill, but the MLAs from Rayalaseema and Andhra regions rejected it. The Andhra and Rayalaseema MLAs were in the majority in A.P. State Assembly. Therefore, on 30 January, 2014, the A.P. Assembly rejected the Bill.

The rejection of the Bill in the State Assembly had no effect, as the Central Government had absolute power to form new States. So, the Central Government went ahead with its plans to bifurcate A.P. A Group of Ministers (GOM), headed by the Central Home Minister, Sushil Kumar Shinde, drafted the different provisions of the Bill.

A.P. Rorganisation Bill

The A.P. Reorganisation Bill was introduced in the Lok Sabha (Lower House) by Sushil Kumar Shinde on 13 February, 2014, at 12:30 P.M. The Speaker of the Lok Sabha, Meera Kumar, a Congress MP, had to adjourn the House due to the pandemonium created by the opponents of the Bill. Some Andhra MPs wanted to introduce a no-confidence motion against the Government.

The move of the Andhra MPs received adequate support from MPs from other States also. The Speaker did not allow the no-confidence motion to be introduced and she expelled many Andhra Congress MPs from the House. The Lok Sabha was frequently adjourned as many MPs of other regional parties also opposed the Bill. Important political leaders like Mamata Banerjee of West Bengal and Mulayam Singh Yadav of Uttar Pradesh also opposed the division of A.P. as it would lead to similar demands of division of other states like UP, West Bengal, Assam, Maharashtra, etc.

Passage of the Bill

Finally, on 18 February, 2014, the Bill was declared to have been passed. At the time of voting, the lights in the Lok Sabha were out. Secondly, the expelled Andhra MPs were not allowed to enter the House and to take part in the voting. In another unfortunate incident which took place to disrupt the proceedings, one MP used pepper spray. Some say it was done by Lagadapati Rajagopal, the Congress MP from Vijayawada, A.P. The Rajya Sabha (Upper House) passed the Bill on 20 February, 2014. Pranab Mukherjee, the President of India, gave his assent to the Bill on 1 March, 2014. The Bill became an Act and was published in the Official Gazette. The appointed date for A.P, the new State was 2 June, 2014.

Main Features of the Act

1. The Telangana Legislative Assembly was to consist of 119 elected members.
2. The Legislative Council was to have 40 members.
3. Telangana representation in Parliament:
   a. 17 MPs in Lok Sabha,
   b. 7 MPs in Rajya Sabha.
4. Hyderabad city was to be the capital of Telangana. However, for a period of 10 years, it was to be the joint capital of residual State of Andhra Pradesh.
5. Both Telangana and A.P. will have joint Governor.
   The Governor will have complete power over Law and Order in Hyderabad.
6. Both States were to have a common High Court located in the city of Hyderabad.
7. Residual Andhra Pradesh representation:
   a. Legislative Assembly to have 175 elected members,
   b. Legislative Council to have 50 members,
   c. 25 MPs in Lok Sabha,
   d. 11 MPs in Rajya Sabha.

The Act defined the boundaries of the two States, determined how the assets and liabilities were to be divided and laid out the status of Hyderabad as the permanent capital of Telangana and temporary capital of new Andhra Pradesh State.

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CHANDRABABU NAIDU: THE ARCHITECT OF MODERN A.P.

On 2 June, 2014, the State of Andhra Pradesh was officially bifurcated to create a new Telugu State called Telangana, with Hyderabad city as its capital. It became the 29th State of the Indian Union. The residuary part of Andhra Pradesh contained 13 districts and retained its original name, but without its capital city. Thus, it was literally thrown out on the streets of Hyderabad city, without a capital and without any revenue, as most of the business houses, IT companies and pharmaceutical concerns were located in the city of Hyderabad where they paid taxes levied by the Government. Thus, Telangana State got all revenue generated in the Hyderabad city. Hence, Telangana was called a "prince" which was born with a silver spoon in its mouth.

The residuary A.P. became a pauper. The bifurcation of A.P. led to the creation of a "prince" and a "pauper". The 50 million people of new A.P. were aware that their present pitiable situation was due to the dirty political games played by the two national political parties, namely, the Congress and the BJP. In the General Elections of May 2014 held for both the Sate Assemblies and the Lok Sabha, the voters of A.P. took their revenge against both the parties. The Congress party was literally thrown into the Bay of Bengal and it could not get even a single seat either in the Assembly or in the Lok Sabha. The people of A.P. felt that Nara Chandrababu Naidu, who created the modern Hyderabad city, was the only person who could bring the former glory to the State.

In the new State, which had 175 Assembly seats, the people supported the Telugu Desam Party led by Chandrababu Naidu. TDP won 102 seats, while YSR Congress party led by Jagan Mohan Reddy, son of the late Rajasekhar Reddy, won 67 seats. The BJP could get 4 seats due to its alliance with TDP. The remaining 2 seats were won by independent candidates.

Chandrababu Naidu, who was out of office for 10 years, that is, from 14 May, 2004 to 7 June, 2014, regained his political power on 8 June, 2014, when he took office as the Chief Minister of A.P. Here it may be stated that

Chandrababu Naidu, who ruled united A.P. for nine years from 1 September, 1995, to 13 May, 2004, was the only Indian politician to lose power while retaining his image as corruption-free, hard working and techno-savvy Chief Minister.

Chandrababu lost power due to a tactical mistake he made by resigning his office as Chief Minister five months before completing his term. He resigned his office on 13 May, 2004. Had he stayed in office till October 2004, history would have been different. During the years 2002 to June 2004, severe drought conditions prevailed in A.P. The farmers, who formed the majority of electorate, could not get good income due to the failure of rains and were angry and voted against the TDP led by Chandrababu Naidu. The Congress party, led by Rajasekhar Reddy, won as many as 189 seats in the Assembly which had 294 seats.

Chandrababu Naidu as the Chief Minter of New A.P.

Chandrababu Naidu took office as Chef Minister of A.P. on 8 June, 2014. Immediately, he plunged into action to create what he called *Swarna Andhra Pradesh* or Golden Andhra Pradesh. He made a list of priorities:

1. Selection of a place for the construction of the new capital.
2. To complete the Polavaram project and take its water up to Rayalaseema.
3. To develop different cities of the State without concentrating on one city.

Selection of a Place for the Capital and Its Name

Chandrababu felt humiliated to stay in Hyderabad as an unwanted guest and run the Government from that place. He felt that it was like back-seat driving of a car. He wanted to run the administration from the State itself and not from another State. Selection of a place for the capital resulted in reopening of regional feelings. The leaders of Rayalaseema wanted the capital either at Kurnool or Tirupati. Jagan Mohan Reddy felt that the capital should be at a central place called Donakonda in Prakasam district where plenty of Government land was available. The people of North Andhra wanted Visakhapatnam as the capital.

Thus the issue of capital led to regional feelings and threatened further division of the State. In such volatile situation, Chandrababu did not lose his cool. He felt the capital city should be the rallying point for the development of the State and should unite the different regions.

He felt that availability of water near its location was important. He knew how Fatehpur Sikri, built by the great Mughal Emperor Akbar near Agra, was abandoned after constructing huge buildings since no water was found near its vicinity.

Chandrababu felt that the new capital should be built near river Krishna which flowed through the middle of the state, that is, through Kurnool, Guntur and Krishna districts. After entering Guntur district, Krishna river, which was flowing from west to the east, changed its direction and moved towards north instead of east or south. This change of direction was regarded as good symptom for the establishment of the capital. Around 2,000 years ago, the Later Satavahanas built their capital at Dharanikota, which was about two miles from Amaravati. Later, they changed their capital to Amaravati. Amaravati became a wealthy and a famous city during the rule of Gowtamiputra Satakarni, the greatest ruler of Later Satavahanas.

Chandrababu decided to build the capital on the right banks of Krishna river in Guntur district. He was able to convince the people of the State about its selection; they approved the decision of the Chief Minister. Thus, the first hurdle about the location was removed.

Then some disgruntled politicians raised another issue. They wanted the capital to be named after N. T. Rama Rao. Chandrababu Naidu refused to accept this suggestion and named the capital as Amaravati—The City Immortal. People all over the State liked the name. Within six months of the bifurcation of the State, the location of the capital and its name no longer remained as an issue.

The selection of Krishna river bank for the construction of capital of A.P. was a master stroke of Chandrababu Naidu. The Krishna river was called "Krishna amma" by the Andhras, meaning Mother Krishna. No other river, including Godavari, had this honour. Andhras gave a pet name to Krishna river and called her Krishnaveni—meaning black twisted plait.

Hud-Hud Cyclone

While Chandrababu was grappling with administrative and economic problems, he found another problem created by nature. On 12 October, 2014, a severe cyclone named Hud-Hud lashed Visakhapatnam city and caused extensive damage. All the development that had taken place in the city for last 10 years was completely destroyed within 2 hours. The monster cyclone uprooted all the trees and electric poles. It also destroyed many places and in neighbouring districts of Vizianagaram and Srikakulam, more than 100 people were killed. Visakhapatnam was plunged into darkness as electric power system was totally destroyed. People went without food or water.

Chandrababu Naidu immediately plunged into action and visited Visakhapatnam and stayed there for 7 days and restored normalcy. Immediately, after coming to Visakhapatnam, he distributed cooked food packets, water bottles and milk packets to each house.

The unscrupulous merchants tried to exploit the situation by increasing the prices of essential commodities. Chandrababu Naidu beat their nefarious

game by supplying free of cost all essentials like rice, cooking oil, vegetables and milk for seven days. He made it a point that the officials visited each and every house to deliver the essential goods. Special care was taken to see that the daily wage workers, who had nothing to fall back on, were given clothes, food and a little money. Electric power was restored through generators. Later, he introduced LED lights by bringing 50,000 bulbs and distributed 2 bulbs each to every family.

The Hud-Hud cyclone revealed another facet of Chandrababu Naidu's personality, namely, his skill in disaster management. When the super cyclone hit Berhampur and other areas of Ganjam district of Odisha, Chandrababu Naidu rushed officials and workers from neighboring Srikakulam district to restore power supply in Ganjam district and remove the debris. The people of Odisha were so much impressed that they stated that Chandrababu Naidu should be their CM also.

Polavaram Project

Polavaram project was a multipurpose irrigation project to harness the waters of Godavari river which were going waste into the sea. The project had long history. In the year 1941, during the Second World War, Sonti Ramamurthy, an ICS officer and the Chief Secretary of the Government of Madras Presidency, made a proposal to construct a big irrigation project to utilise the waters of the mighty Godavari river. Sonti Ramamurthy was the first Indian ICS officer to hold the post of Chief Secretary to the Government. He hailed from Visakhapatnam district. He became the advisor to the Government of Madras. For a few months, he officiated as the Governor of Bombay Presidency.

Ramamurthy was a visionary. He wanted to develop the Telugu speaking areas by constructing a huge irrigation project over Godavari river. He ordered L. Venkat Krishna Iyer, Chief Engineer of Irrigation Department of Madras Government, to conduct a survey for the construction of the project.

Venkat Krishna Iyer conducted the survey and found Polavaram village in West Godavari district as the best place to build the project. The reservoir of the project would be so big that its waters would extend up to the feet of Sri Rama at Bhadrachalam. Bhadrachalam was part of East Godavari district of the Madras Presidency. After the formation of A.P., it was merged into Khammam district, which is now in Telangana.

The project was named as *Rama Pada Sagar Dam* and it was approved for construction in 1946. It was estimated that the project would cost 66 million rupees. American engineers like Savage also approved its construction. The project would supply water to 3,50,000 acres of land for 2 crop seasons. Dr. K. L. Rao finalised the design of the right canal, which would extend up to Guntur district by constructing an aqueduct across the Krishna river.

When India became independent in 1947, the proposal to construct the project was abandoned. It was only in 1980 that the Chief Minister of A.P., T. Anjaiah, laid the foundation for the project and called it Polavaram Project. Marri Chenna Reddy, who later became the Chief Minister of A.P., wanted to call it by its original name Rama Pada Sagar Dam, as Chenna Reddy was responsible for the renovation of Bhadrachalam temple.

No progress was made in the construction of the project during 1980–2014.

Under the A.P. Reorganisation Act of 2014, the Government of India was responsible for the construction of Polavaram as a national project at its own cost. The construction of the project would result in submerging of 10 *mandals* of Khammam district of Telangana. To prevent the Government of Telangana from opposing the construction on this ground, the Modi Government, soon after coming to power, issued an Ordinance transferring these 10 mandals to the state of Andhra Pradesh. M. Venkaiah Naidu took personal interest in this regard.

Governments of Odisha and Chattishgarh opposed this project since a few acres of land from their States would be submerged. They filed a case in the Supreme Court. However, the Central Government is looking into this matter to solve the problem.

Though the project is designated as a national project, the Government of India took no interest in its construction for so many years. Recently, Chandrababu Naidu made many visits to Delhi and met Uma Bharati, Minister in charge of Irrigation and also Arun Jaitely, the Finance Minister. But nothing came out of this, so Chandrababu Naidu again visited Delhi and met the Prime Minister, Modi, and convinced him to take steps for the construction of the project, which will be the lifeline of Andhra Pradesh. At long last, the Government of India agreed to release funds for its construction through NABARD (National Bank for Rural Development). Money is no longer the problem for its construction. It is the pace and quality of work that matters. Chandrababu Naidu is now devoting every Monday to evaluate how the work is progressing. He is making aerial surveys and also visiting the dam site to see in person the progress of the work. Devineni Umamaheswara Rao, Minister in charge of Irrigation, A.P., is also taking personal interest in its early construction and giving spot instructions.

It is hoped that the project, which was first conceived in 1941, would be completed at least by 2040.

The People of Andhra Pradesh, for generations to come, will be indebted to the following two persons for this project:

1. Sonti Ramamurty, ICS, Chief Secretary, Government of Madras Presidency for conceiving the project in 1941 and starting its work 1946.

2. The present Chief Minister for making the Government of India to release funds for the project through NABARD.

Officials who contributed to the project:

1. L. Venkat Krishna Iyyar, Chief Engineer, Department of Irrigation, Government of Madras Presidency .
2. Dr. K. L. Rao, was one of the important engineers who was involved in designing the right canal of the Polavaram Project. It was he who suggested to bring Godavari waters up to Guntur district by constructing an aqueduct across the Krishna River. Dr. K. L. Rao's dream was fulfilled by Chandrababu Naidu, who constructed the Pattisima lift-irrigation canal and linked the waters of Godavari and Krishna at the place of Ibrahimpatnam, Krishna district.

Dr. K. L. Rao was also involved in the construction of Nagarjuna Sagar project. He was a Minister for Irrigation in Nehru Cabinet. He did a great service to the people of A. P. He opposed the proposal of C. Rajagopalachari, the Chief Minister of Madras, to construct the Krishna-Pennar project to take the waters of the Krishna river to Tamil Nadu. This project would have deprived the districts of Krishna, Guntur and Nellore of these waters. The proposal of C. Rajagopalachari was intended to benefit Tamil Nadu, hence a great and popular agitation in Andhra districts opposed the project. The Government of India was forced to appoint a committee headed by Dr. Khosla to look into the matter. Dr. Khosla opposed the construction of Krishna-Pennar and suggested the construction of a project at Nandikonda (the present Nagarjuna Sagar Dam). It was during this time that Potti Sri Ramulu undertook the fast-unto-death on 19 October, 1952, at Madras. The fast created an explosive situation in Telugu districts. On the night of 15 December, 1952, Sri Ramulu attained martyrdom.

It was the hope of the Andhra State, which was formed in 1953, that the Polavaram project would also be undertaken by the Government of India, but this did not happen under Nehru or the subsequent Prime Ministers. Let us hope that Chandrababu Naidu will achieve the result and commemorate the memory of Sonti Ramamurthy, who conceived the project. It is not out of place to mention that Ramamurthy, who hailed from Visakhapatnam district, wanted to develop Aruku valley on the lines of Ooty. Now Chandrababu is taking steps in this regard.

Krishna Pushkaralu

Krishna is the one of the largest rivers of India, after Ganga, Brahmaputra and Godavari. The length of the river is about 1,500 km. It originates in the Western Ghats at Mahabaleswar and passes through the States of Maharashtra, Karnataka, Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. It merges into the Bay of Bengal at Hansaladivi in the Krishna district of A.P.

Krishna *Pushkaralu* is the festival of the river which occurs once in 12 years. It is celebrated for 12 days. In the year 2016, the festival was celebrated from 12 to 23 August in both Telangana and A.P. To enable the pilgrims to take bath in the river, ghats with stone walls and steps were constructed at different places on the river bank. In A.P., ghats were constructed in Krishna, Guntur and Kurnool districts.

At Ibrahimpatnam in Krishna district, water from the Godavari river was brought and combined with the waters of the Krishna river. The place where the waters of both the rivers were merged together is called *Pavitra Sangamam*. Chandrababu Naidu took special steps to make Krishna Pushkaralu an ever-cherished memory. He knew that when Godavari Pushkaralu was conducted in 2015, there was a stampede on the first day, resulting in some deaths of pilgrims. Such an event did not happen during Krishna Pushkaralu as adequate arrangements were made by police authorities and everything went on smoothly, to the satisfaction of all the pilgrims.

పవిత్ర హారతి

(an offering of camphor to deity, presented at the time of festival)

A special feature of the 2016 Krishna Pushkaralu was the *Pavitra Harati* to pay homage to the river after sunset. It was a grand display of lights. The Pavitra Harati and the smooth conduct of Krishna Pushkaralu shows another facet of Chandrababu Naidu as a great events manager.

20
AMARAVATI: THE CITY IMMORTAL

Prehistoric Period

In prehistoric times, the King of gods built a beautiful capital which was noted for its riches, brilliance and beautiful women like Rambha, Oorvasi, Menaka, Tilottoma, etc. The *rakshaas* or the demons, who were the enemies of *devas* or gods, became envious of the city of their opponents. They invaded the city many times but failed either to capture or destroy it. Hence the city came to be known as Amaravati or the City Immortal (అమర).

AMARAVATI THROUGH THE AGES

Ancient Hindu Period

Amaravati, of prehistoric times, is a part of mythology. A small village on the right banks of Krishna river in the present-day Guntur district of A.P. is also named Amaravati. It has a long and tumultuous history of more than 2,000 years.

In North India, the historical period of ancient India began with the establishment of the Mauryan Empire in 350 B.C. It existed up to 150 B.C. The most famous Mauryan King was Ashoka, who ruled from 282 B.C. to 230 B.C. The main religion of North India at that time was Buddhism, founded by Gautama Buddha. It is believed that Lord Buddha visited Amaravati (in the present A.P.) and gave a religious discourse. It is called the first *Kala Chakra*, which means initiation into Buddhism. This happened sometime during 6th century B.C. The Kala Chakra of Buddha had a great impact over the region, now known as Guntur and Krishna districts. For 400 years from 2nd century B.C. to 2nd century A.D., the Andhra region was a stronghold of Buddhism. At different places, like Ghantasala, Gudivada, Amaravati and others, Buddhists built different kinds of constructions. The Buddhist temples were known as Chaityas. Viharas were the residential quarters for Buddhist monks and merchants.

Amaravati School of Art

At Amaravati, on the left banks of the Krishna river, the largest Buddhist stupa of South India was constructed. Its construction began in 200 B.C. and was completed in A.D. 200. The diameter of the stupa[1] at the base was 51 metres. The height of the dome was 31 metres and the outer railing 15 metres wide. Instead of brick and red stone, marble was used in the construction. The inner stupa was richly engraved, depicting incidents from Buddha's life. The stupendous stupa could not withstand the ravages of time and its ruins are preserved in the London Museum.

Art critics lavished praise on the greatness of Amaravati art. Epithets like "a new canon of beauty and tranquility" and "the aesthetic ideal of India" were used in describing the grandeur of Amaravati art. One of the schools of Indian art was named after Amaravati, the capital of Later Satavahanas. The earliest paintings, especially the renowned "Black Princess" in the Ajanta caves, belong to the Satavahana period.

Satavahanas: 221 B.C. to A.D. 218

Deccan, the main seat of the Satavahana power, is watered by the two mighty rivers of South India, namely the Godavari and the Krishna. As a result, agriculture became the mainstay of the Satavahana economy. The rivers, besides sustaining agriculture, became the main channels of trade and communication. Realising the dominant role played by the rivers in their economy, the Satavahanas located their capital at Prathisthana on the left bank of the Godavari river in the Aurangabad district of Maharashtra. Their later capital, which rivalled the brilliance of Indra's court, was aptly named Amaravati and located on left bank of Krishna River in Guntur district of Andhra Pradesh.

Besides fostering agriculture, the Satavahanas developed both internal and maritime trade. The figure of a ship found on the coins of Pulomavi and Yanasri testify to the fact of their maritime activity. Further, discovery of a large number of Roman coins in the Krishna valley strengthens this fact. Periplus of Erythrean sea (A.D. 60–70) mentions a number of ports on the western and Andhra coasts. The important western ports included Sopar, Kalyana, Bargaza and Barukachcha, the northern-most port of Dakshinapatha. The important market towns of Andhra included Kontakosala (Ghantasala) and Koduru (Gudur of Krishna district, near Machilipatnam).

The main items of export to Rome, Persia and other countries included textiles, silks, gems, ivory, pepper and high quality steel known as *wootz*, produced at Konasamudram and Elgandala. The imports included wine, copper, gold and silver. As a result of their brisk trade, a rich class of merchants known as *sethis* came into existence and dominated the society.

1. A stupa is a monument built on the remains of Buddha or great teachers.

They patronized Buddhism and gave donations for the construction of Chaityas and Viharas. It is interesting to note that in the inscription on the caves of western India, the donations given by merchants were mentioned in 46 lines, while those of the kings and royal family members account for 30 lines only. The Satavahana Empire could sustain itself for five centuries, in spite of repeated attacks from enemies, due to its economic strength resulting mainly from foreign trade.

To conclude, the Satavahana rule extending over five centuries from 3rd century B.C. to 3rd century A.D., constitutes one of the glorious epochs of ancient Indian history. The history of India before the advent of the Satavahanas was mainly the history of North India. The Satavahanas, who controlled the land between the Narmada in the north, Tungabhadra in the South, Bay of Bengal in the east and the Arabian Sea in the west, gave the Deccan a political individuality and blessed the area with peace and prosperity at a time when North India was rocked by several political disturbances caused by foreign invasions and dynastic revolutions.

Gautamiputra Satakarni (A.D. 78–102)

Gautamiputra Satakarni, of the Later Satavahana dynasties, was an outstanding ruler of ancient India. At the time of his accession to the throne, the political situation was very gloomy for the Satavahanas. He succeeded in defeating his enemies and conquered new areas. His kingdom included the entire Andhra Pradesh, parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu.

Gautamiputra Satakarni was a great champion of Hinduism, but he allowed Buddhism also to develop. Actually, the royal ladies and some of the higher officials patronised Buddhism. Satakarni, being a staunch champion of Hinduism, performed many rituals and identified himself as the defender of *Vedic faith* and tried to prevent *Varnasankara* (intercaste marriage).

The contribution of the Satavahanas to Indian art and architecture is immense. They were the innovators of the rock-cut architecture. A number of Chaityas and Viharas were carved out of rock in a number of places like Nashik, Kanheri and Karle in western Deccan. In Andhra, Viharas and stupas were built of brick and marble in a number of places like Amaravati, Jaggaiahpeta, Goli, Ghantasala, Nagarjunakonda and Bhattiprolu.

The Satavahanas were the first historical dynasty of the Deccan. They ruled the Deccan area for more than 400 years. The Deccan area was divided into western and eastern parts. In the beginning, the Satavahanas ruled the western part and their capital was located at Paithan (Aurangabad district, Maharashtra) or Pratisthanapura. Hala, the 17th king of the Early Satavahanas dynasty, lost many parts of his empire. So the Satavahanas

shifted towards the eastern part of Deccan. The kings who ruled the eastern part were known as Later Satavahanas.

Gautamiputra Satakarni was one of the outstanding rulers of ancient India. At the time of his succession, the situation was very gloomy for the Satavahanas. He succeeded in defeating his enemies and conquered new areas. The boundaries of his empire extended from eastern Rajasthan to Cuddalore in Tamil Nadu, from Rishi Kulya (in Odisha) to Vaijayanti in Karnataka. In other words, his empire included the entire Andhra Pradesh, parts of Rajasthan, Gujarat, Maharashtra, Madhya Pradesh, Odisha, Karnataka and Tamil Nadu. One of his titles "Thrisamudra Toya Pitavahana" (one whose horses drank the water of three oceans), suggests the fact that his armies had touched the Bay of Bengal, the Arabian Sea and the Indian Ocean.

Acharya Nagarjuna

The greatest personality of the 2nd century A.D. was Acharya Nagarjuna. He made great contribution to Mahayana Buddhism. He is said to have lived near Amaravati. The construction of the great Amaravati stupa, which began in 200 B.C. was completed in 2nd century A.D. So the construction of the stupa took four hundred years.

Medieval History

After the death of Gautamiputra Satakarni, the power of the Later Satavahanas declined. They were succeeded by a number of minor dynasties like the Ikshvakus and Pallavas. Buddhism gradually declined and finally disappeared when Samudra Gupta invaded South India and conquered many areas. His achievements were narrated in the Allahabad Inscription. He did to Hinduism what Buddha had done for his religion in Andhra. Not only entire Andhra, but the entire India became a Hindu country. Samudra Gupta's kingdom was *Asetu Himachala* or Rameshwaram in the south and Himalayas in the North, Gandhara in the West and Kamarupa (Assam) in the East.

Kakatiyas of Warangal (A.D. 1000–1323)

After the fall of Satavahanas, many minor dynasties ruled Deccan. The Kakatiyas of Warangal were the first major dynasty to rule over the Andhra region, i.e., the present states of Telangana and Andhra Pradesh. Their rule began from A.D. 1000 and continued up to A.D. 1323.

The greatest ruler of the dynasty was Ganapatideva, who ruled from A.D. 1198 to A.D. 1260. His long rule of 62 years was notable for the development of the entire region. He had no son, but only two daughters. Rudramba, the elder daughter, was given in marriage to a Chalukya prince of Nidadavolu. The second daughter, Ganapamba, was given in marriage

to a minor chief near Warangal. Rudramba used to visit Amaravati, where she had her religious guru. She was a staunch devotee of Lord Shiva. After the death of her father, Rudramba became the ruler of the Kakatiya Empire. She was the only female to rule over Andhra.

Rudramba had no sons but only three daughters, so she adopted a son, Prataparudra, the son of her eldest daughter. Prataparudra ruled from 1289 to 1323. During his time, the Muslims invaded Warangal and took Prataparudra as a prisoner. With the fall of the Kakatiya dynasty, Telangana region came under the rule of the Muslims.

Amaravati came into prominence once again during the rule of the Vijayanagar Empire (1336–1678). The greatest ruler of the dynasty was Sri Krishnadeva Raya (1509–1529). During the 14th and 15th centuries, many parts of Andhra were occupied by the Gajapati Rulers of Odisha.

Sri Krishnadeva Raya, who came to power in 1509, launched five campaigns against the Gajapati rulers. To launch the campaign, he came to the region now known as Guntur district. He stayed at a village which is now known as Tulluru; it was named after Tullava dynasty to which Sri Krishnadeva Raya belonged. His military general, Uddanda Raya, stayed near another village, which is named after him. Even today the village where he stayed is known as Vuddandaraypalem. Sri Krishnadeva Raya marched up to Cuttack in Odisha. The Gajapati king surrendered and offered his daughter in marriage to Sri Krishnadeva Raya. Sri Krishnadeva Raya, in turn, returned all the areas he conquered from Odisha to the Gajapati ruler. Sri Krishnadeva Raya, during his stay at Tulluru, visited Srikakulam in Krishna district and worshipped Andhra Maha Vishnu and began to write his famous book in Telugu *Amakuta Malayada.*

Modern Period

By the beginning of the 16th century, many Europeans visited Machlipatnam for trade. Two merchant companies, East India Company of the British and another company of Netherlands visited Machlipatnam, Bhimlipatnam, near Visakhapatnam for trading purposes.

Vasi Reddy Venkatadri Naidu (A.D. 1761–1861)

Vasi Reddy Venkatadri Naidu was a powerful ruler of Amaravati. He controlled more than 500 villages. The British and Dutch companies tried to get his favour for trade privileges. He refused to allow them to establish their factories near Machilipatnam. At Amaravati, he constructed a beautiful palace for himself. Later, the Amaravati region and other coastal areas came under the control of the English East India Company. The British were marveled to see the great Amaravati Stupa which was in ruins. They took

away all the artifacts of Amaravati to London and kept them in a museum. They took care to preserve these artifacts. A special section in the London Museum is named after Amaravati.

Visit of Dalai Lama

Amaravati came to prominence once again in January 2006. In the first week of January 2006, His Holiness the Dalai Lama, the spiritual head of Buddhists, visited Amaravati to give a discourse, called Kala Chakra, there. He declared "I am fortunate to be in Amaravati". He said the Kala Chakra at Amaravati had a special significance since Buddha gave his first Kala Chakra initiation at Amaravati.

Andhra Pradesh Chief Minister, Dr. Y. S. Rajasekhar Reddy, received the Dalai Lama and treated him as the State guest of Andhra Pradesh. The preliminary teachings of the Kala Chakra started on 8 January, 2006. The proceedings began at 8.30 a.m. and went on till 12.00 noon. More than one lakh persons from all over the globe attended the Kala Chakra of the Dalai Lama.

The Dalai Lama laid the foundation for the construction of a great image of Lord Buddha, in a sitting posture. Now that image has become the icon of Amaravati. The Dalai Lama planted a small tree near the museum. He hoped that Andhra Pradesh, like Bihar and Uttar Pradesh, will become a Buddhist pilgrimage destination. More than 100 media persons from all over the globe visited the Kala Chakra ceremony of the Dalai Lama.

21

ANDHRA PRADESH: INDIA'S SUNRISE STATE

Chandrababu's Vision 2018–2019 and Beyond

Chandrababu Naidu, on assuming his duties as Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh on 8 June, 2016, called Andhra Pradesh as India's "Sunrise State" as the State had extensive coastline on the east of India towards sunrise.

Among the States in India, two States, one in the Northeast and the other in the South, have the initials "A.P." In the Northeast, Arunachal Pradesh mean's "sun's province". In the British times, this region was known as NEFA (North East Frontier Agency). After independence, it was renamed as Arunachal Pradesh; "aruna" stands for "sun". The State of Andhra Pradesh also has initials "A.P." Here "A" denotes Andhra and also "Aditya" the Solar deity. Hence, Chandrababu Naidu rightly called it the "Sunrise State". In ancient India, there were two temples where the Solar deity was worshipped—one in Martanda in Kashmir and the other in Konark in Odisha. Now these two temples, noted for their architectural grandeur, are in ruins and worship of the Sun god is abandoned.

However, in the Srikakulam district of Andhra Pradesh, there is a place called Arrasavalli. Originally it was known as Harsha Valli or the Abode of Joy. A temple for Solar deity was constructed here by Devendra Varman in the 7th century A.D. The temple was constructed in such a way that the sun's rays fell directly on the feet of the Lord Suryanarayana during the early hours of the day. This happens every year in the month of February and June. Thousands of pilgrims from all over the country visit the temple during February and June as they believe their visit to temple would cure several eye ailments.

Chandrababu's Vision

His vision has two parts—one for 2018 and the other 2019 and beyond. His vision consists of:

1. Development of Amaravati as a smart, world class city.
2. Completion of the first stage of the Polavaram Project.

To develop Amaravati as a beautiful city, more than 35,000 acres of land is required. The Amaravati region, which has 29 villages, is on the banks of the Krishna river. This region is the most fertile area of the State, where three crops a year are raised. Everywhere one finds eye-soothing fields of paddy and banana plantations.

Many well-wishers and critics of the Chief Minister advised him to abandon the idea of a big and beautiful world class city. They advised him only to construct a "Seed Capital" consisting of a Raj Bhavan, Legislative Assembly and Council, a High Court in an area of about 1,000 acres.

But Chandrababu Naidu had other plans. He wanted that the capital city should be the hub of educational, cultural, medical and other facilities catering to the need of the entire population of the State. He knew the practical difficulties. Under the Land Acquisition Act, he cannot compel the land owners to part their land to the Government. Secondly, the State has no money to pay compensation to those who are willing to sell their land to the Government. The State has a hand-to-mouth existence. Under the A.P. Bifurcation Act, the Government of India has to pay the State the entire revenue deficit it faces. The Government of India did not honour its commitment. So Chandrababu Naidu launched what he called the "Land Pooling Scheme" (LPS).

Under LPS, the land owners were made partners in the Capital Project. The land owners will retain their right as the owners of the land; they simply agree that their land can be used for the Capital Project. In return, the owners will be given 1,000 square feet of developed plots for every acre they give. Thus the land owners would get 1,000 square feet of developed plots which can be used for commercial purposes. In this manner they can get regular yearly income.

Under the LPS, more than 35,000 acres of land has already been acquired. Thus Chandrababu Naidu did not get involved with the Land Acquisition Act. He got all the land required to complete the first stage of Amaravati construction. He wants to showcase the capital as the achievement of the TDP Government. He believes that this LPS will enable the TDP to return to power for the second time to form the Government.

Chandrababu Naidu invited Prime Minister Modi to lay the foundation for the new capital in October 2014. He hoped that the Government of India would release enough funds for the construction of the capital, but his hopes were not realised. All that Modi gave to Chandrababu were two big pots—one containing the sacred waters of Ganga and Yamuna and the second containing sand gathered from different places in the North.

The failure of Chandrababu Naidu to make the Government of India to release funds for the construction of the capital became an opportunity for his opponents like Jagan Mohan Reddy to put him in a delicate position. They

demanded that TDP should sever its connection with the NDA Government, but Chandrababu kept his cool. He knew he must be on the right side of the Government so that he can secure funds at least after some time if not immediately. So he continued to stay with the Central Government and hoped a day will come when the funds will be given.

This hope materialised finally in the middle of 2016. The Government of India finally agreed to release funds for the construction of the capital and also for the Polavaram project.

Without waiting for Central funds, Chandrababu Naidu, with the little amount of revenue available, had decided to construct an interim capital at Velagapudi village. The interim capital was to have five blocks of buildings, with the same number of floors, to house the secretariat and other departments of the A.P. Government which were located at Hyderabad. He gave the construction of these buildings to the private companies like L&T and other major infrastructure construction companies. These buildings were made ready in all aspects within a record time of about four months. The A.P. Interim Capital began to function at Velagapudi from October 2016.

New Buildings for the Permanent Capital

When the Central Government announced a "special package" for construction of the capital and Polavaram construction, etc., Chandrababu Naidu invited Arun Jaitely, the Finance Minister of the Government of India, to lay the foundation stone for the buildings on 28 October, 2016. Arun Jaitely laid the foundation for the Legislative Assembly and Council, Raj Bhavan, High Court, Chief Minister's residence, etc. These buildings are located between Lingayapalem and Uddandarayapalem villages. Apart from the buildings, roads—internal roads, outer ring road—and Knowledge City were planned to be constructed within two years.

Knowledge City

Chandrababu decided to make Amaravati a centre for higher learning. Vellore Institute of Technology (VIT), India's top ranked private university, has already agreed to open a new campus at Amaravati, to be known as VIT-A.P. The foundation stone for the new campus was laid on 10 November, 2016. It is scheduled to be completed within six months and the classes will commence from June 2017. VIT-A.P. has also adopted three villages nearby, to be developed as "smart villages".

Chandrababu's desire to develop Knowledge City is showing results. Two more private universities decided to open their new campuses within three months so that they can conduct classes from the 2017 academic year. At Mangalagiri, a medical hub is being developed. The Government of India decided to open the premier and prestigious All India Institute of Medical

Sciences (AIIMS) with its own funds in 15 acres of land donated by the A.P. Government. The foundation stone for the construction of the required buildings has already been laid.

Amaravati skyline is beginning to change with the establishment of these educational and medical institutions. A British association of UK wants to open a big centre for medical education and research with its own funds. Thus, one aspect of Chandrababu's vision for 2018, namely, to complete stage 1 of the capital will be a reality.

Regarding the Polavaram project, the work is not progressing at expected lines. Chandrababu wanted to complete stage 1 of the project so that the waters of Godavari river reach the arid Rayalaseema. So Chandrababu is devoting every Monday to monitor the progress of the Polavaram Project.

Here it may be stated that Pavan Kalyan, the noted filmstar of Telugu film industry and the brother of Cheeranjevi, floated a political outfit called *Janasena*, meaning "people's army". He announced that the head quarters of the party will be located in Anantapur (Rayalaseema area) and also that he will contest from Anantapur, either for the A.P. Assembly or Lok Sabha, in the General Elections of 2019.

Jagan Mohan Reddy of YSR Congress desires to become the Chief Minister of A.P. by winning many seats of A.P. Assembly in the General Elections of 2019. To embarrass Chandrababu, he launched an agitation demanding "special status" to A.P. so that a large number of industries can be established in the State. Under the special status, many tax incentives will be given for those who establish industries. This will generate employment opportunities for the people. However, the Central Government has given a special package of funds but declined to give special status as it will lead to similar demands from other States also.

Industrial Development

Chandrababu Naidu, while concentrating his attention on construction of the capital and Polavaram Project, did not forget his desire to industrialise the State, to provide employment opportunities to both the educated and the semi-educated persons. In December 2015, he convened a meeting of big industrialists from all over the globe, at Visakhapatnam. This was known as CII Industrial Meet. In this meeting, he pointed out the inherent advantages the State has which has six big sea ports like Visakhapatnam, Gangavaram, Machilipatnam and Krishnapatnam. Besides the sea ports, the State has six airports at Visakhapatnam, Rajahmundry, Gannavaram, Tirupati, Kadapa and Tadipatri. As the Visakhapatnam airport is under the control of the Indian Navy, a big greenfield airport at Bhogapuram, near Visakhapatnam, is under construction. After its completion, it would be one of the most modern and the biggest airports of South India. These sea ports and airports, along with

the railway lines now in existence, give good connectivity to export the manufactured products.

From the Government side, Chandrababu has streamlined all clearances at one at one place, to be given within 15 days. This forward-looking policy is appreciated by the World Bank, Asia Development Bank and other institutions. The World Bank has declared A.P. as number one in India in "Ease of Doing Business". The Government of India also announced that A.P. has overtaken Gujarat and ranked it as number one in attracting new industries among all the Indian States.

Similarly, the World Bank has praised A.P. and ranked it number one in conserving electric power. A.P. has become a surplus State as far as electric power is concerned. To further increase the position in the power sector, Chandrababu is tapping solar energy.

While developing industries, Chandrababu did not forget agriculture. He knew that in arid Rayalaseema area, paddy cultivation was not possible because enough water is not found there. So he is developing Anantapur and other regions of Rayalaseema as horticultural hubs. Cultivators are asked to grow horticultural products like vegetable plants which require little water. Similarly, he is encouraging farmers to grow flowers, which have wide demand not only from big temples but also from the general public. He is also encouraging the Israel model of cultivation by using sprinklers to conserve water use.

In areas where plenty of water is available, like West Godavari and East Godavari districts, he is encouraging aqua culture. The idea of aqua culture has already caught the imagination of the local people. Andhra within a year, has the largest exporting area for fishes and other river products. In this manner, his new agricultural policy has made people of Anantapur district and East and West Godavari districts very rich, even in a developing State like Andhra Pradesh. That is why a foreign observer has remarked that Andhras are rich, though their State is poor. The GDP growth of Andhra Pradesh is 11.99 as against the all India growth of 7%. By the end of 2017, Chandrababu intends to reach the 15% mark.

In spite of these developmental activities, Chandrababu is facing some political disadvantages from the Kapu community. Leaders like Mudragada Padmanabham are demanding that the Kapu community should be declared backward, which is opposed by other backward communities. The Kapus are mainly concentrated in West Godavari, East Godavari and Vizianagaram districts. Famous film stars like Allu Ramalingiah, S. V. Ranga Rao, Charanjeevi and his brother Pavan Kalyan, hail from this community. Chiranjeevi once floated a political party called Praja Rajyam, which he subsequently merged with the Congress.

Pavan Kalyan, a mega film star, has to be watched hereafter, as he is nurturing political ambitions. As mentioned, he floated a political outfit called "Jana Sena", which had good relations with the BJP. But now he is demanding, like Jagan Mohan Reddy, that Andhra Pradesh should be given "special status" by the Government of India. It is to be seen how Chandrababu Naidu will face them in the General Elections of 2019.

As things stand today, people have full faith in Chandrababu's abilities and his commitment to develop the State. But the situation can change in politics any time. Only after the results of 2019 elections can we know who will come to power. Chandrababu Naidu came to power twice in united Andhra Pradesh. He was the Chief Minister of united A.P. from 1995 to 2004. The general belief is history will repeat itself and he will come back to power in 2019.

Vision 2019 and Beyond

The ultimate aim of Chandrababu Naidu is to make Andhra Pradesh the "Gateway of India" to South East Asia and East Asia. He is confident that by 2030 Amaravati will be a beautiful and well-developed capital city.

He also feels that Andhra Pradesh will be the leading industrial State of India and the products of A.P. will be exported through Visakhapatnam and Krishnapatnam sea ports. He is of the opinion that history will repeat itself. Nearly 2,000 years ago, the products of A.P. and textiles were exported to far off places like Rome. A.P. will regain its glory.

To achieve this ambition, he is embarking to digitalise the educational system of A.P. so that its people are most well-developed and knowledgeable. He wants to stop the brain drain of the students to countries like USA and others. He feels that in the next 30 years, A.P. will have institutions at par with world class institutions like MIT and others.

APPENDIX I

TELUGU LITERATURE: A HISTORICAL SURVEY

Telugu, the predominant language of the State of Andhra Pradesh, is spoken by a population of 100 million. It is the second largest spoken language in the Indian Union, after Hindi. There are two views regarding the origin of the Telugu language. Some of the ancient Telugu poets and grammarians believed that it was derived from Prakrit and Sanskrit. But the majority of philologists of the present day accept the theory put forward by Bishop Caldwell in his *Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian Languages* that Telugu belongs to the Dravidian family of languages.

At present, the terms "Telugu" and "Andhra" are interchangeable. But the Telugu language did not evolve at the time of the first Andhra Empire—that of the Satavahanas—which extended over large parts of the present Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra, from the second century B.C. to second century A.D. The Andhra Satavahana Emperor, Hala, composed his *Gatha Saptasathi* in Prakrit.

The Telugu language seems to have commenced its independent existence in the first century A.D. Several inscriptions of the period A.D. 600–800 contain many Telugu words. It is quite possible that by the ninth century A.D., there was a large volume of literature in Telugu, mostly fables.

Nannaya

The beginnings of Telugu literature is traced to the 11th century, when Nannaya, the court poet of Raja Narendra (1022–63), the Eastern Chalukyan king who ruled from Rajahmundry on the banks of the river Godavari, began to translate the Mahabharata into Telugu from Sanskrit. The work commenced at the instance of the ruler, who traced his descent from the lunar race of kings to which belonged the heroes of the Mahabharata. Nannaya could translate only the Adi parva (Canto), Sabha parva and a part of Aranya parva.

Tikkana

The translation was resumed two centuries after the death of Nannaya, when Tikkana of Simhapuri (Nellore) completed the translation of the remaining 15 parvas. However, he did not take up the translation of Aranya parva, which was left incomplete by Nannaya.

Yerrapragada

Yerrapragada, who belonged to the 14th century, rendered into Telugu the unfinished portion of the Aranya parva. These three translators of Mahabharata, namely, Nannaya, Tikkana, and Yerrapragada, are popularly known as "Kavitrayam" (poet trio) and are held in high esteem by the Andhras.

The Telugu translation by the above poets was highly Sanskritised. During the 12th to 14th centuries, the Veerasaiva movement became strong in Karnataka and also in parts of Andhra. The poets influenced by this movement wanted to reach the common man through their works written in simple Telugu, known as *Desi Kavitha*. Palakuriki Somanatha, who lived about 1200–1240 A.D., composed his works *Basava Puranam* and *Panditharadhya Charitra* by using the simpler idiom known as *Dwipada*, which contained more Telugu words. Tikkana, however, followed a via media policy. He freely used both Telugu and Sanskrit in his translation of the 15 cantos of Mahabharata. He introduced the new trend of using both Telugu and Sanskrit words, depending on their common usage among the people. Tikkana, who was regarded as Ubhayakavi Mitra (i.e., friend of both Sanskrit and Telugu poets), inaugurated the new form of poetic expression known as Marga Kavitha. This form was in vogue till the beginning of the 20th century. Now Sista Vyavaharika Bhasha or the spoken language is favoured.

Translations of Ramayana

Though Mahabharata was the first Sanskrit work translated into Telugu, Ramayana is more popular among the masses. From the beginning of the 13th century till today, many poets have rendered Ramayana into Telugu. Gona Buddha Reddi, a tributary under the Pratapa Rudra I, the Kakatiya ruler of Warangal, was the first to translate Ramayana into Telugu round about the year 1250 A.D. This work is known as *Ranganatha Ramayana*. Close on the heels of this work came another translation of Ramayana known as *Bhaskara Ramayanam*, which is attributed to Mantri Bhaskara.

Age of Srinatha (1380–1500)

Srinatha and Bammera Potana are the two great poets belonging to the medieval period. Srinatha was a prolific writer. His works include

Sringara Naisadam (translation of Sri Harsha's Sanskrit work *Naishada*), *Kasi Kandam, Bhimeswara Puranam, Harivilasamu* and *Palnati Veera Charitra. Haravilasamu* is his best work and *Palnati Veera Charitra* is the most popular.

Bammera Potana (1450–1510)

Bammera Potana is the most beloved poet of the Andhras. He rendered *Bhagavatam* into Telugu. It is a masterpiece. Even illiterate persons readily quote his verses from *Gajendra Moksham* and *Prahlada Charitra.* He is supposed to be the brother-in-law of Srinatha. Potana did not crave for royal patronage and refused to dedicate his work to Sarvajna Singha Bhupala, the ruler of Warangal. Other works attributed to him are *Virabhadra Vijayamu* and *Bhogini Dandakamu.*

Tallapaka Annamacharya (1408–1503)

Tallapaka Annamacharya, who hailed from Tallapaka village in the Cuddapah district, lived for 95 years. In the course of his long life he composed about 32,000 kirtanas, or devotional songs, addressed to Lord Venkateswara of Tirupati. He was not only a great poet, but also a profound musician. His kirtanas, which were engraved on copper plates and deposited in the temple of Venkateswara, were unfortunately melted by ignorant trustees of the temple. Only 8,000 kirtanas are now available. The Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanams are now busy in making these kirtanas popular through their project known as the Annamacharya Project. From the last five to seven years, his kirtanas are becoming increasingly popular, thanks to the splendid work of Tirumala-Tirupati Devasthanams.

Except for Annamacharya's kirtanas and Srinatha's *Palnati Veera Charitra,* the works up to the end of the 15th century were mere translations from Sanskrit. There were no original poetry works or works in prose.

Vijayanagara Period

The period of the Vijayanagara empire (1336–1565) is regarded as the Golden Age of Telugu literature. The court of Sri Krishnadeva Raya, the greatest emperor of South India, who ruled during 1509–29, was adorned by eight great poets of Telugu literature, popularly known as "Asta Diggajas" (Elephants of the Eight Quarters or Eight Great Persons). During this period, a new form of literature known as *prabandha* developed. Prabandha was based on the *Mahakavya* of Sanskrit literature.

The Asta Diggajas were (1) Alasani Peddana, the poet-laureate was popularly known as Andhra Kavita Pithamaha (Grandfather of Telugu Poetry)—his greatest work *Manucharitramu* is highly popular

even today; (2) Nandi Timmanna, author of *Parijathapoharanamu*; (3) Ayyalaraju Ramabhadrudu, author of *Ramabhyudayam*; (4) Dhurjati, author of *Kalahastiswara Mahatmyam*; (5) Madayagari Mallana, author of *Rajasekhara Charitramu*; (6) Pingali Surana, author of *Kalapurnodayamu*; (7) Bhattu Murthi also known as Ramarajabhushana, author of *Vasucharitra;* and (8) Tenali Ramakrishna, author of *Panduranga Mahatmyam*. The name of Tenali Ramakrishna is associated with several humorous stories and mischievous pranks and he is as popular throughout South India as Birbal is in North India.

Amukta Malyada

Sri Krishnadeva Raya was not only a great Emperor, but also a poet of great renown. His work *Amukta Malyada* is regarded as first rate *prabandha* in Telugu literature.

Vemana

One of the popular literary forms in Telugu is known as *Satakam*. A Satakam is a collection of 100 poems. The two popular Satakams are *Sumati Satakam* and *Vemana Satakam*. Vemana was one of the greatest poets of the post-Vijayanagara period. His belonged to the Rayalaseema area and his verses, composed in a simple and charming style, are intensively popular. C. P. Brown, an employee of the East India Company, was so charmed with the Vemana verses that he translated them into English in 1829.

Southern School of Telugu Literature

After the fall of the Vijayanagara empire, a number of small Hindu kingdoms were formed in South India, especially Madras State, ruled over by princes popularly known as Nayaks or leaders. Most of the Nayak rulers were of Telugu origin. In the Nayak kingdoms at Madurai, Tanjavuru and Pudukkottai in the Madras State, Telugu literature was given so much patronage that from the 17th to the middle of the 19th century, a large number of Telugu works came from that region. That is why the literature of this period is popularly known as the "Southern School of Telugu literature".

The special feature of this school was that a large number of princes as well as women produced literary works of outstanding merit. Secondly, music was given a lot of patronage and great musical compositions in Telugu were produced. These song-composers were known as Vaggeyakaras.

Kshetrayya (1663–1673)

Kshetrayya, also known as Kshetrajna, was another great poet musician. He hailed from the Movva village in the Krishna district. His

musical compositions, known as *padams*, form the repertory for the famous Kuchipudi dance. He travelled extensively and was honoured by the rulers of Hyderabad, Tanjavuru and other places in South India. Though he is said to have composed more than 4,000 padams, only 400 are available today.

Thyagaraja (1759–1847)

The music of South India is popularly known as Carnatic music. Carnatic should not be confused with the state of Karnataka. Carnatic was the region now forming part of southern districts of Andhra Pradesh and northern districts of Tamil Nadu. Since the three great musical composers of the south, Thyagaraja, Dikshitar and Syama Sastri hailed from this region, the music is popularly known as Carnatic music. Kakarla Thyagayya, popularly known as Thyagaraja, is the greatest of the musical trinity of South India. He was a Telugu Brahmin by birth and all his musical compositions were only in Telugu language, though he lived in the heart of Madras State.

Women Poets

The earliest poetess of Telugu literature was Kummari Molla, daughter of a potter. She composed the Ramayana in six cantos. Her work, popularly known as *Molla Ramayanamu*, is still popular among all sections of the Telugu people. Some regard her to be a contemporary of Tikkana, who belonged to the 13th century.

Mohanangi, daughter of Krishnadeva Raya and the wife of the Vijayanagara ruler Ramaraya, is said to have composed the Telugu poetical work called *Maricha Parinayamu*. Another poetess, Tallapaka Timmakka, wife of Annamacharya, was the author of *Subhadrarjuniyam*.

However, it is only during the 17th and 19th centuries that a large number of women, like Ramabhadramba, Madhuravani, Rangajamma and Muddupalani, produced literary works of great merit. All of them enjoyed the patronage of the kings at Tanjavuru (Tanjore).

Others

Telugu literature flourished at Mysore also. Kempa Gowda, the founder of Bangalore city, composed a musical work in Telugu known as *Ganga Gowri Vilasamu*.

The Kutbshahi rulers of Golconda also patronised Telugu literature. Ibrahim Kutb Shah honoured Kandukuru Rudrayya, the author of *Janardana Satakam* and *Sugrivavijayam*, and also Addanki Gangadhara Kavi. Malik Ibrahim, another Sultan of Golconda, patronised Malla Reddi who composed works life *Padmapuranam*.

Modern Period

During the years 1766 to 1802, two out of the three geographical regions of Andhra Pradesh, namely, the Circars or Coastal Andhra and Rayalaseema came under the control of the East India Company. The third region, namely Telangana, formed part of the erstwhile State of Hyderabad.

With the introduction of British rule, Telugu literature was greatly influenced by English literature. Before 1857, some of the missionaries and officials of the East India Company like C. P. Brown rendered great service to Telugu language and literature. Brown was responsible in bringing out an English-Telugu Dictionary and also brought to light many extant works in Telugu. He employed a large number of Telugu pandits at his personal expense to edit famous works in Telugu.

Kandukuri Veeresalingam (1848–1919)

Kandukuri Veeresalingam is remembered now for the pioneering work he did in the field of social reform, especially remarriage of widows. Before he turned his attention to social reform, he widened the frontiers of Telugu literature by introducing new literary forms like the novel, autobiography etc. His literary activities were varied. He wrote the first novel in Telugu *Rajasekharacharamu*. The first books in Telugu on natural sciences and history were written by him. He was the first to establish separate journals for women, *Satihitabodhini* and *Hasyavardini*. He was also the first to bring out in Telugu works on literary criticism and history of Telugu poets. His works covered almost the entire range of Telugu literature.

Novels

Prose, as a special branch of literature, began to develop only from the latter half of the 19th century. The different literary forms of prose like novel, short story, and the drama are now more popular than poetry. The first prose work of real merit was *Neetichandrika*, written by Paravastu Chinnayya Suri (1806–1862), who was Telugu Pandit of the Presidency College, Madras. Neeti Chandrika translated the first two books of *Panchatantra*, namely, *Mitra Bhedamu* and *Mitra Labhamu*. The style was artificial and pedantic. But many writers imitated that style. Veeresalingam used the same style when he composed the third book of *Panchatantra* known as *Vigrahatantra*. But later Veeresalingam discarded that style as he found that the students were finding it difficult to understand the meaning. So he wrote *Sandhi Tantra* in easy prose.

Rajasekhara Charitram, the first novel in Telugu, was based on *The Vicar of Wakefield* by Goldsmith. The novel was translated into Kannada and English languages. It was reviewed in *The Times* of London.

Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham (1867–1945), the blind bard of Andhra, was a prolific writer and a many-sided personality. He was a poet, orator, dramatist, essayist and a social reformer. He was closely associated with great personalities of Andhra like Veeresalingam, Nyapathi Subba Rao and T. Prakasam.

Nyapathi Subba Rao, one of the founders of the great English daily of Madras, *The Hindu*, encouraged the writing of novels in Telugu by instituting annual cash awards for the best novels in Telugu. Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham bagged the first prize for his novel *Ramachandra Vijayam* in 1893. Again, in 1896, he bagged the award for his novel *Hemalatha*. His other great novels are *Karpuramanjari* and *Soundarya Tilaka*. The novels of Chilakamarti were based on social and historical themes.

Malapalli

The Non-Cooperation Movement of Gandhiji and the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 exerted tremendous influence on the elite of Andhra. Unnava Lakshminarayana, bar-at-law at Guntur, participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement. While in prison, in 1921 he wrote his famous novel, *Malapalli*. The novel dealt with the problems of the Harijans and also labour. It was the first novel in Telugu with political overtones, highlighting the conflict between the haves and have-nots. The novel was banned by the British Government of India, but it continued to inspire both Congressmen and Communists.

Viswanatha Satyanarayana

Viswanatha Satyanarayana, popularly known as Viswanatha, is undoubtedly the greatest Telugu writer of the 20th century. No wonder he is hailed as *Kavisamrat* or the Emperor among the poets. Viswanatha was a prolific writer in both prose and poetry. His prose works include outstanding novels like *Veyipadagalu* (thousand hoods), *Jebudongalu* (pick-pocket), *Ekavira*, etc. His magnum opus, *Veyipadagalu*, has been translated into Hindi as *Sahasra Phan* by P. V. Narasimha Rao, the Minister for External Affairs, Government of India and later the Prime Minister of India. Viswanatha is the first Telugu writer to win the prestigious Jnanapeeth award from Government of India.

Buchibabu

Chivaraku Migiledi, a novel by Buchibabu, is one of the outstanding novels published before 1950. Buchibabu was a lecturer in English by profession. His works show consummate skill in delineating the life of the middle class in the Coastal area and also the regional conflicts between the Circars and Rayalaseema. His premature death was a great blow to Telugu literature.

Marxist Influence

From 1930 onwards, leftist ideas gained great currency among the Telugu people. Maxim Gorky's *Mother* and the works of Marx and Lenin were translated into Telugu. T. Gopichand, Kodavatiganti Kutumba Rao and Rachakonda Viswanatha Sastry brought new vigour to Telugu novels. *Asamarthuni Jeevitha Yatra* of Gopichand reveals the social life of the middle class. Kutumba Rao and Viswanatha Sastry were the champions of the underdog. They were committed to Marxism. Kutumba Rao passed away in 1980. His complete works were edited by Ketu Viswanatha Reddy and published by the Visalandhra Publishing House of Vijaywada. Viswanatha Sastry's novel *Ratlalu and Rambabu* is still incomplete.

Women Novelists

After the formation of Andhra Pradesh, a new trend developed in the writing of novels. Important Telugu journals, especially weeklies, started serialising novels and awarding them handsome prizes. This brought into the field a galaxy of women novelists like Malathi Chandur, Dr. Sri Devi, Yeddanapudi Sulochanarani, Madireddi Sulochana, Bina Devi, Anantaramam, D. Visalakshi, Lata, Ranganayakamma, D. Kameswari, K. Ramalakshmi, V. Sita Devi, etc. As a matter of fact, at present more novels are written by women than men.

Other Novelists

The survey of Telugu novel would be incomplete if no mention is made of Gudipati Venkatachalam who, in his novels like *Maidanam* and *Ameena*, championed the cause of women. Adavi Bapiraju Balivada Kantarao and Nori Narasimha Sastry, Pilaka Ganapati Sastry, G. V. Krishna Rao and Chakrapani—who had translated Bengali novels especially Sarat Chandra Chatterjee into Telugu—are other great novelists of this century.

Short Stories

Like the novel, the short story, as a new genre of Telugu literature, developed due to the spread of English education and contact with English literature. Of course, short stories like *Tatachari Kathalu*, stories revolving round Tatachari, the Rajaguru of Sri Krishnadeva Raya and *Kasimajali Kathalu* (stories told on the pilgrimage to Kasi or Benaras) were in vogue during the 19th century. But these stories were not regarded as literary compositions. Gurujada Appa Rao (1862–1915), one of the doyens of modern Telugu literature and the author of the famous drama *Kanya Sulkam* written in colloquial Telugu, is regarded as the creator of the Telugu short story of the modem type. *Diddubatu*, published in 1910, is regarded as the first modern

Telugu short story. The literary output of Gurujada was very meagre, but he was the trend setter not only in the new genres of Telugu literature, drama and short story, but also poetry.

The short stories of Chinta Dikshitulu and Malladi Ramakrishna Sastry were very popular. The former was the first to write stories for children. The *Kantam Kathalu* of Munimanikyam Narasimha Rao depicts the domestic life of the middle class.

Short story writing got a fillip with the growth of Telugu journalism after the end of the Second World War. P. Padmaraju's short story *Galivana* bagged the second prize in the *New York Herald Tribune* story competition. Till lately short stories used to propagate leftist ideas. Rachakonda Viswanatha Sastri, one of the best short story writers in any language, is associated with a literary group called Abhyudaya Rachayithala Sangham (Arasam for short), meaning progressive writers association. It is regarded as the literary front organisation of the CPI. As against "Arasam", there is "Virasam", i.e., Viplava Rachayithala Sangham (Revolutionary Writers Association), which propagates the political philosophy of the radicals.

Drama and Theatre

One of the neglected branches of Telugu literature is the drama. It was only during the last decades of the 19th century that playwrights wrote stageable dramas. The inspiration came from the touring dramatic troupes of Dharwar and Pune, who enacted with great success plays in Hindi and Urdu in different towns of Andhra. The need for similar dramas in Telugu was felt. In two centres, Bellary and Rajahmundry, Telugu plays were enacted with great success. Dharmavaram Ramakrishnamacharya (1853–1913) of Bellary is regarded as Andhra Nataka Pitamaha (Grandfather of Telugu Drama). Two of his outstanding plays were *Chitranaleeyam* and *Sarangadhara*. The other great dramatist of Bellary was Kolachalam Srinivasa Rao, who concentrated on dramas with historical backgrounds. His *Vijayanagara Samrajya Patanamu* (Fall of Vijayanagar Empire) is the best among the 30 plays he has written.

Chilakamarti Lakshmi Narasimham's plays like *Gayopakhyanam* and *Prasanna Yadavam* became immensely popular. Andhra Kesari T. Prakasam used to enact female roles in these plays.

Bellary Raghava

Tadipatri Raghavacharyulu, popularly known as Bellary Raghava, was an actor par excellence. He invigorated the Telugu stage by his dynamic performance. He enacted the roles of Othello and Shylock in the English plays performed at Madras and Bangalore. His fame spread to other parts

of the country and also to England. Rabindranath Tagore hailed him as one of the best actors on the Indian stage.

Among the notable plays of the early 20th century are *Pandava Udyoga Vijayulu* of Tirupati Venkatakavulu, *Prataparudreeyam* of Vedam Venkataraya Sastri, *Satya Harishchandra* of Balijepalli Lakshmikantam and *Padukapattabhishekam* of Panuganti Lakshmi Narasimha Rao.

Stanam Narasimha Rao and D. V. Subba Rao were two actors of rare ability who adorned the Telugu stage.

Kanya Sulkam

The first social play of outstanding merit was *Kanya Sulkam*, written by Guruzada Appa Rao. It is regarded as a modem classic. It was written at the instance of the Vijaynagar zamindar, Ananda Gajapati, to expose *kanya sulkam* (or bride money) prevalent towards the end of nineteenth century among the middle class Brahmin families. Under this system, young girls, including babies, were given in marriage to old men in return for money (Kanya Sulkam). This play, written in 1897, was revised and enlarged in 1909. It is a social satire and held to ridicule the persons indulging in this nefarious practice. The play was written in commonly spoken Telugu and became an instant success. Even though the custom of Kanya Sulkam disappeared long ago, the play is still read with much relish. The characters like Girisam, the "lovable rascal", and Madhuravani, "the worldly wise" dancing girl, pulsate with life.

Ma Bhumi

During the years 1942–46, the Communists tried to propagate their party ideology by staging plays like *Mundadugu* (step forward) and *Ma Bhumi* (our land) through their front organisation, Prajanatya Mandali. Ma Bhumi portrayed the struggle of the Telangana peasants against the feudal landlords. The play was banned for a time.

An account of the Telugu drama would be incomplete without referring to the works of P. V. Rajamannar, the former Chief Justice of Madras High Court and Atreya. The plays of Rajamannar, like *Tappevaridi Emi Maga vallu*, appealed to the intellectuals. Atreya's *N.G.O.* depicts the travails of the low paid clerks in Government service.

After the formation of Andhra Pradesh in 1956, only a few good plays have been written. This is due to a variety of reasons. The film industry in Andhra is fairly strong and the writers are concentrating on novels which could be made into movies. Theatre in Andhra is languishing for want of patronage.

Poetry

Since the beginning of the 20th century, Telugu poetry became very virile. This was due to a variety of reasons. Kandukuri Veeresalingam's efforts at social reform, the awakening of the nationalist spirit due to Vandemataram and Swadeshi movements and the crusading campaigns of Gidugu Ramamurty Pantulu to make the spoken language the medium of literary expression, together created a new awakening among the poets and they readily experimented with new patterns of literary expression.

A new trend in writing of poetry was set by Gurujada Appa Rao when he brought out the fine collection of poems called *Mutyala Saralu* (Garland of Pearls). With the publication of these poems "two things may be said to have taken birth, a new metre and a new school of poetry".[1]

In these poems, Gurujada foresees the emergence of a brave new world. He chides the patriots who regard the motherland as a piece of earth and forget the common people.

Other poems of Gurujada include *Puthadi Bomma Purnamma* and *Lavanya Raju Kala.* As pointed out by the veteran journalist and literary critic V. R. Narla, "Gurujada's contribution to literature, though meagre in quantity, is more artistic, more abiding."[2]

Rayaprolu Subba Rao (1892–1983)

The publication of *Truna Kankanam* by Rayaprolu Subba Rao in 1912 heralded the birth of a new kind of poetry in Telugu, popularly known as *Bhava Kavitwam.* This genre of poetry differs from classical poetry as it gives more emphasis to *bhava* or emotion than to *rasa* or sentiment. The trend set by Rayaprolu inspired poets like Devulapalli Venkatakrishna Sastry, Nayani Subba Rao, Duvvuri Rami Reddy, Viswanatha Satyanarayana, Nanduri Subba Rao and a host of others.

It is interesting to note that Viswanatha Satyanarayana, who became the champion of classical tradition, produced in the early period of his literary career lyrical works like *Kinnerasani Patalu* and *Kokilamma Pelli*, inspired by the Rayaprolu.

Krishna Sastry's works like *Krishna Paksham* and *Urvasi* show the influence of Rayaprolu.

Bhava Kavitwam

Bhava Kavitwam poets like Vedula Satyanarayana Sastry, Denulapalli Krishna Sastry, Nayani Subba Rao and Basavaraju Appa Rao formed themselves into a literary group called *Sahiti Samiti* under the inspiration of Tallavajjula Sivasankara Sastri. The literary journal *Pragati* did yeoman service in popularising this new genre of poetry.

1. Narla, V. R., *Gurujada* (New Delhi), 1979, p. 63
2. *ibid.*, p. 83.

One of the poets of the Bhava Kavitwam group, Nanduri Subba Rao, raised great controversy by using spoken dialect in his poems *Yenki Patalu*. The hero and heroine of the poems, Yenki and Nayudu Bava, belong to the class of agricultural workers and Subba Rao's use of the colloquial idiom of the working class was questioned by many scholars. But Panchagnula Adinarayana Sastry, the great scholar of Berhampur, in his forceful introduction to the poems, silenced the critics.

Srirangam Srinivasa Rao (Sri Sri)

Srirangam Srinivasa Rao, popularly known as Sri Sri, is a poet in defiance. He has exercised and is still exercising tremendous influence on the minds of youth imbued with revolutionary fervour. He is now associated with a group of radicals who style themselves as members of "Virasam", that is, Viplava Rachayitala Sangham (Association of Revolutionary Writers).

Sri Sri was greatly influenced by Marxism and experienced the pangs of poverty during the economic depression of the 1930s. He felt that the panacea of all economic evils is Communism. So during the years 1934 to 1941, he composed a number of poems which were published under the title *Mahaprasthanam*. In these poems, Sri Sri assumed the role of an iconoclast to destroy the old order of life and outmoded conventions.

The admirers of Sri Sri hail him as *mahakavi* or great poet. "His real place in Telugu literature can be properly estimated only after political passions and prejudices cool down. He is undoubtedly amongst the great poets of Andhra.... His poetry about suffering and aspirations of common people is both moving emotionally and disturbing intellectually."[3]

Telangana Poets

The contribution of Telangana to modem Telugu literature is immense in spite of the fact that the people of the region had no opportunity till 1948 to pursue their studies in their mother tongue. All the leaders of Andhra movement in Telangana, like Madapati Hanumantha Rao, Burgula Ramakrishna Rao, Suravaram Pratapa Reddi and Ravi Narayana Reddi were noted writers of Telugu. Suravaram Pratapa Reddi's *Andhrula Sanghika Charitra* (the social history of Andhras) is the first work of its kind in Telugu. It won the award of the Sahitya Akademy. Suravaram Pratapa Reddi was also a poet. His poems include *Champakee Bramara Vishadham* and *Premarpana*. His books *Hinduvula Pandugalu Haindava Dharmaveerulu* and *Ramayana Vishesamulu* were the products of historical research. Burgula Ramakrishna Rao, in spite of his varied political and social activities, was able to write two important books in Telugu, namely, *Panditaraja Panchamritam* and *Krishna*

3. Sastry, S.M.Y., *Modern Telugu Literature and Theatre*, (Bombay), 1975 p. 17

Sathakam. Vanamamalai Varadachari, "the Abhinava potana", Khandavalli Lakshmiranjanam, are among the great scholars.

Madapati Hanumantha Rao's *Telanganalo Andhrodyamamu* gives an accurate account of the Andhra movement in Telangana. Similarly, Ravi Narayana Reddi's *Veera Telangana* gives the inside story of the Telangana armed struggle (1946–1951).

P. V. Narasimha Rao was a polyglot. He had good command over several languages, including Telugu, Hindi and Marathi. He translated Viswanaiha Satyanarayana's *Veyipadagalu* into Hindi as *Sahasra Phan*.

Kaloji Narayana Rao and Devulapalli Ramanuja Rao are poets of great merit. Among the women writers, Illindala Saraswati Devi occupies a high place. Her forte was the short story.

Among the poets of the younger generation, V. Narayana Reddy and Dasarathi Krishnamacharya occupy a very high rank. Narayana Reddy is a prolific writer and his works include *Divvela Muvvalu, Karpura Vasantarayalu, Nagarjuna Sagaram, Ajanta Sundari* and *Ramappa*. Dasarathi's works include *Agnidhara, Rudraveena*, etc. Dasarathi Rangacharyulu's novels, *Chilla Devullu, Janapatham* depict the rural life of Telangana. Another interesting fact about the contemporary Telangana poets is the emergence of a group of radical poets who styled themselves as *Digambara* or naked poets. These poets assumed symbolic names like Nagna Muni, Jwala Mukhi, Nikhileswar, Mahuswapna, Bhairavayya and Cherabanda Raju. They believe in violence to bring about social change. Charabanda Raju Bhaskara Reddy died recently. He was in detention for a long time and was released only a few days before his death.

Rayalaseema Writers

The contribution of Rayalaseema to Telugu literature is varied. Cattamanchi Ramalinga Reddi, popularly known as C. R. Reddi, brought out his poetical work *Musalamma Maranamu* in 1900. His other work, *Kavitwatatva* Vicharamu is an enquiry into the principles of poetry. Gadicherla Harisarvothama Rao who took a leading art in the nationalist and library movement of Andhra hailed from Kurnool district. His work *Vismrita Raja Kavi* a forgotten emperor poet deals with Krishnadeva Raya's literary achievements.

Puttaparti Narayanacharyulu composed many poetical works like *Sivathandavam and Penugonda Lakshmi*. Gadiyaram Sesha Sastri's Sivabharatam recalls the heroic deeds of Shivaji in an epic style. R. S. Sudarsanan is not only a novelist of repute but also a literary critic. In the field of short stories Madurantakam Raja Ram and Ketu Viswanatha Reddi stand out prominently.

From the above survey it is evident that modem Telugu literature is dynamic and pulsating with activity in almost all genres except literary criticism and drama.

APPENDIX II

SOME EMINENT ANDHRAS

I. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan (1888–1975)

Foremost among the luminaries of Andhra Pradesh is Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan who, by his brilliant intellect and scintillating writings, spread the message of our ancient culture to distant parts of the globe. Radhakrishnan was born in a poor Telugu Brahmin family on 5 September, 1888, and had his early education in Tirupati. After getting his M.A. degree from the Madras University he worked for some time as Professor of Philosophy at the Presidency College, Madras and also at Mysore University. His academic achievements as the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra and Banaras Hindu Universities and as Spalding Professor of Eastern Religions and Ethics at Oxford are so well known that they need no recapitulation

Radhakrishnan twice presided over the sessions of the Andhra Mahasabha at Nandyal and Madras in 1927 and 1938, respectively and tried his best to bring about the early formation of the Andhra Province.

After our country attained freedom in August 1947, Pandit Nehru utilised the services of Radhakrishnan in various capacities. His tenure of office as the Indian Ambassador to the Soviet Union during the years 1949– 1952 is unique as it laid the foundation for the future friendship between the two countries. The event that was much talked about in those days was the rare gesture made by Joseph Stalin in giving audience to Radhakrishnan.

As the Vice-President of India for two terms (1952–57, 1957–62) and as the President during the years 1962–67, he brought a rare dignity to these two highest positions of the country. It looked as though Plato's ideal of Philosopher King had become a reality in India.

The string of highest honours conferred on him, both Indian and foreign, include Bharat Ratna (1954),German Pour la Merite (1955) and the Golden Spur—the highest Vatican award. It was conferred on Radhakrishnan by Pope Paul VI during the latter's visit to Bombay on 4 December, 1964. Radhakrishnan was also the recipient of the Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion (USA).

The publications of Radhakrishnan are numerous and some of the most well known of his works are The Hindu View of Life, An Idealist View of Life, Eastern Religions and Western Thought, Brahma Sutra, The Religion We Need, etc.

After leading a full life extending over 86 years, Radhakrishnan died on 17 April, 1975.

II. Varahagiri Venkata Giri (1894–1980)

Varahagiri Venkata Giri, popularly known as V. V., Giri, was the second Andhra to become the President of India. Sri Giri had occupied different positions at the State level and also at the Centre with distinction. He carved for himself a prominent niche in the trade union movement of the country. In all his actions he was inspired by a set of moral values and never cared to cling to positions of power and prestige. In 1954, he did not hesitate to resign from his position as Minister for Labour, in the Cabinet of Jawaharlal Nehru, over the bank award issue. Another trait of his character was indomitable courage. In 1969, at the age of 75, he plunged himself headlong to contest for the position of the President of India in one of the most keenly contested elections, defeated a fellow-Andhra, Sri Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, and reached the highest position of the country.

Sri Giri was born at Berhampore in the present Ganjam district of Orissa on 10 August, 1894. He was the worthy son of a worthy father. His father, Sri Jogaiah Pantulu, in response to the call of Gandhiji during the Non-Cooperation Movement, resigned from his position as Public Prosecutor and took active part in the freedom struggle of the country. He was elected to the Central Assembly in 1927.

Sri Giri studied up to Intermediate class at Khalli Kote College, Berhampore and then proceeded to Ireland for higher education. While a student at Ireland, he took keen interest in the Sinn Fein Movement of that country. The movement was launched for the independence of Ireland from British rule. Because of his activities, Giri was externed from Ireland. He, however, was able to get his degree in Law from the National University of Dublin.

On his return, he set up his legal practice at Berhampore in 1916. Soon he was involved in the Home Rule agitation started by Mrs. Annie Besant. In 1921 he, along with his father, Jogaiah Pantulu, joined the Non-Cooperation Movement. For taking part in this movement, he was imprisoned for a short time in 1921–22.

After his release from prison, he devoted his attention towards developing the trade union movement in the country on sound lines. In fact, he was one of the few politicians who realised the importance of the trade union movement in the early period of our national struggle under Gandhiji. Along with his fellow Congress workers from different parts of the country, he succeeded in forming the All India Trade Union Congress. He became

its President in 1926 and 1942.

He was the General Secretary of All India Railwaymen's Federation for seven years and also its President for an equal number of years. He successfully conducted the strike of Bengal Nagpur Railway workers. As a result, he become prominent throughout the country.

In 1927, he participated in the International Labour Conference at Geneva as the delegate of Indian workers. He also participated in the Round Table Conference of 1931 as the representative of workers. While in London, along with his father, he made representations to the Secretary of State for India for the immediate formation of Andhra province and also opposed the transfer of Berhampore, Parlakimedi, Jeypore and other areas to the proposed Orissa province.

In 1936, when elections were held under the Government of India Act, he contested for the Madras Legislative Assembly from Bobbili as the Congress candidate. His opponent was the Rajah of Bobbili, the Premier of Madras and the Leader of the Justice Party. In this election, Pandit Nehru was not allowed to address an election meeting of the Congress Party at Bobbili town. In spite of all these obstacles, Giri won the election with a thumping majority.

When the Congress formed the ministry under C. Rajagopalachari, Giri became Minister for Labour and Industries.

During the Quit India Movement, Giri was detained from August 1942 to 1946 in different prisons at Vellore, Nagpur, etc.

He was again elected to the Madras Legislative Assembly in the elections of 1946 and was Minister for Labour in the Cabinet of Prakasam. From 1947 to 1951 he was High Commissioner for India to Ceylon (Sri Lanka).

In the first General Elections of 1952, he was returned to the Lok Sabha from the Pathapatnam constituency of Srikakulam district. In 1952, he became Union Minister for Labour. As already mentioned, he resigned from his position in 1954.

Before becoming the President of India in 1969, he served with distinction as the Governor of Uttar Pradesh, Kerala and Mysore (Karnataka). He was the Vice-President of India during the yeas 1967–69.

Giri laid down office as the President of India after completing his five-year term of office on 23 August, 1974. He was decorated with Bharat Ratna, the highest national honour, on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Indian Republic on 26 January, 1975. He died at Madras on 24 June, 1980.

III. Neelam Sanjiva Reddy (1913–1996)

Andhra Pradesh has the unique distinction of providing to the country, so far, with three presidents who had earlier distinguished themselves in

different fields of activities. Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, the first Andhra to become the President of India, was a scholar and philosopher of international renown. V. V. Giri was one of the key organisers of the trade union movement in the country. Sanjiva Reddy, who was the President of India from 1977 to 1982, on the other hand, began his political career by working among the poor peasantry of Rayalaseema, one of the most underdeveloped regions of the country.

Sanjiva Reddy was born on 19 May, 1913, at Illur in the Anantapur district of Andhra Pradesh. He was drawn into the national movement in 1931 and gave up his studies at Government Arts College, Anantapur. In his youth he was greatly influenced by his mentor, Pappuru Ramacharyulu, a noted scholar, journalist and freedom fighter.

Two distinguishing traits of Sanjiva Reddy's character were tenacity and hard work. He was so committed to the ideology of the Congress Party that he did not leave the organisation even during the years 1949–53, when many stalwarts of the party in Andhra like Prakasam and Ranga left the organisation and contributed to its discomfiture in the first general elections of 1952. When the Andhra State was formed in October 1953, Sanjiva Reddy succeeded in persuading leaders like Nehru to allow Prakasam to head the first ministry, even though the latter was not a member of the Congress Party.

Sanjiva Reddy played an important role in bringing about rapprochement between the leaders of Telangana and Andhra, which led to the formation of the State of Andhra Pradesh in November 1956. Sanjiva Reddy, who became the Chief Minister of the enlarged Andhra State, did not hesitate to give up the position in December 1959 to become the President of the Indian National Congress. He returned to State politics in April 1962 when he became, for the second time, the Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh. He continued to be in that position till February 1964. After the demise of Pandit Nehru in May 1964, Sanjiva Reddy withdrew from State politics and began to take prominent part in the affairs of the Congress Party at the national level. He became Minister for Steel and Mining in the Central Cabinet formed by Lal Bahadur Shastri in June 1964.

As the Speaker, he conducted the proceedings of the Lok Sabha with decency and decorum during the years 1967–69. In the presidential election of 1969, he was defeated by V. V. Giri.

Sanjiva Reddy took the defeat with good grace and retired to his native village, Illur. It was only in March 1977 that he came out from voluntary retirement to active politics, at the behest of admirers and contested elections to the Lok Sabha from the Nandyal Constituency of Andhra Pradesh. In that historic election, he was the lone non-Congress party candidate to be elected to the Lok Sabha from Andhra Pradesh. No wonder, he was unanimously elected as the Speaker of the Lok Sabha on 26 March, 1977. He did not

continue in that position for long since he was elected unopposed as the President of the Indian Republic. He assumed office as President of India on 25 July, 1977. After completing his term of office, he returned to his native district Anantapur in July 1982.

IV. Mokshagundam Visveswarayya (1861–1961)

Andhras, it is said, can give great expression of their talents if they are born outside their State or work in other regions of the country. This appears to be true in the case of Mokshagundam Visveswarayya, the greatest engineer the country has produced.

Visveswarayya was bom at Muddenhalli village in the Telugu-speaking Kolar district of the Karnataka State on 15 September, 1861. Visveswarayya's forefathers belonged to Mokshagundam village in the Kurnool district of Andhra Pradesh and they migrated to Kolar district in the early part of nineteenth century.

Visveswarayya, while he was very young, lost his father, Srinivasachari. He was brought up by his uncle, Ramayya, who spared no effort in giving his nephew the best possible education. Visveswarayya stood first among the successful candidates in the B.A. examination from the Central College, Bangalore, which was then affiliated to the University of Madras. This enabled him to secure a scholarship of the Mysore Government to pursue further studies in engineering at Poona. He received his degree in engineering in 1884, securing a first class and winning the much-coveted award, the James Berkeley Prize. This enabled him to join the Public Works Department of the Government of Bombay as Assistant Engineer. He retired from the service of Bombay Government as Superintending Engineer in 1908.

Visveswarayya showed his brilliance by introducing what was known as the Block System of Irrigation. His talent were recognised by persons like Lord Kitchener, the Commander-in-Chief of India, and Lord Sydenham, the Governor of Bombay, when they saw the Khadakvasla Reservoir at Poona built as per the new innovation introduced by Visveswarayya. The new innovation was the "automatic waste weir floodgates".

The services of Visveswarayya were used by the Government of Hyderabad to control the floods of the Musi river, which caused immense damage to life and property of the city of Hyderabad, in 1908. The Hyderabad Government implemented the recommendations of Visveswarayya and saved the city of Hyderabad from the scourge of annual floods. Again, in 1922, his services were utilised while drawing up a drainage scheme for Hyderabad city.

Visveswarayya was the maker of modem Mysore. As the Dewan of Mysore during the years 1912 to 1918, he initiated industrialisation of Mysore by starting the Mysore Iron and Steel Works at Bhadravati. Earlier,

as the Chief Engineer of the Public Works Department of the Government of Mysore, he was responsible for the construction of a dam across the river Cauvery, near Kannambadi village. This dam, known as Krishnaraja Sagar Dam, and the famous Brindavan Gardens attached to it are well-known throughout the country and they stand testimony to the engineering skills and aesthetic sense of Visveswarayya.

Visveswarayya was the first to realise the importance of planning. His ideas on planning and industrialisation of the country caught the fancy of no less a person than Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Speaking at a function held at Bangalore to honour Visveswarayya on his hundredth birthday, Nehru said that Visveswarayya was a dreamer, thinker and a man of action and that the country was full of memorials of the work done by him.

Visveswarayya was really a Bharat Ratna or a jewel and it is no wonder that the Government of India bestowed on him the highest honour of the country, Bharat Ratna, in 1955.

V. Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu (1862–1939)

Andhra Pradesh was singularly fortunate in having a social reformer like Kandukuri Veeresalingam (1848–1919) who, by his pioneering efforts in the middle of nineteenth century, widened the outlook of the Andhras.

By the turn of the 20th century, Andhra was no longer a centre of tradition and conservatism. It was in the mood to accept new ideas and move with the times. Further, the Vandemataram and Swadeshi movements created a new awakening among the masses. These favourable circumstances were exploited to the fullest extent by Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu to accelerate the pace of social reform in Andhra. That is why Sri Naidu is regarded as the second great social reformer of Andhra after Kandukuri Veeresalingam.

Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu was born in Machilipatnam in 1862. As his father, Appaiah Naidu, was serving in the army, young Raghupati had to move from place to place throughout the country. This enabled him to study in different parts of the country under distinguished teachers of the day.

Raghupati passed his Matriculation examination at Hyderabad. There he was fortunate to study under the famous teacher, Aghoranath Chattopadhyaya, father of Sarojini Naidu. For his B.A. degree, Venkataratnam Naidu proceeded to Madras and joined the Madras Christian College in 1885. There he came under the benign influence of its Principal, Rev. Dr. Miller. Rev. William Miller was an outstanding educationalist of South India. It is said of him that he used to remember the names and biodata of all his students. In popular parlance, the students of the Madras Christian College were referred to as "Gentlemen".

Venkataratnam Naidu received his M.A. and L.T. degrees from the Madras University and chose the career of teaching.

He worked as the Principal of Mehaboob College, Secunderabad, from 1889 to 1904. From 1905 to 1919, he was the Principal of Pitapuram Rajah's College, Kakinada.

The Rajah of Pitapuram was a man of liberal outlook and a great philanthropist. He was a patron of education, literature and fine arts. In order to encourage college education among girls, he admitted girls into his college without taking tuition fees from them. Further, girls were given free accommodation and boarding in the hostels. The liberal outlook of the Rajah was fostered by Raghupati Venkataratnam Naidu.

Sri Naidu lost his wife when he was only 27 years of age. He then decided to remain single and dedicated his life for the upliftment of Harijans and Devadasis (nautch girls). In Andhra, there used to exist what was known as "Bhogam" caste. The women of this caste were known as Devadasis (servants of the Lord). Their profession was supposed to be "dancing", but in reality they took to prostitution. Sri Naidu took up the cause of these women and continued the work of Veeresalingam. It is worth remembering that Veeresalingam also tried to eradicate the custom of dance entertainments by these women at the time of marriages. It was mainly due to the efforts of Sri Naidu that the Devadasi system has completely disappeared from Andhra. This caste is no longer referred to with contempt as "Bhogam". They are now known as "Kala ventulu". The women of this caste, like the women of other castes, are coming up in different professions and making their mark as lawyers, teachers, doctors, etc.

As a teacher, he endeared himself to his students and developed in them the noble qualities of compassion and love. He was an ardent Brahmo and during his stay at P. R. College, Kakinada became a strong centre of Brahmo movement in Andhra.

He became the Vice-Chancellor of the Madras University in 1924. During his tenure of office, great importance was given to the development of Indian languages. In recognition of his great services to education and social reforms, a Knighthood was conferred on him. The Brahmo Samaj bestowed on him the title of Brahmarishi. The death of Sri Naidu in 1939 created a great void in the field of social reform in Andhra.

VI. Dr. B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya (1880–1959)

Dr. Bhogaraju Pattabhi Sitaramayya, popularly known as Dr. Pattabhi, was a many-sided personality. By profession he was a physician, but by temperament he was an astute businessman. He was the creator of many insurance and banking concerns like Andhra Insurance Company, Bhagyalakshi Bank and Andhra Bank. In spite of these business activities, he found time to start and edit an English weekly, *Janma Bhumi*, in 1919. In 1921, he plunged himself into the national movement and became one of the trusted lieutenants of Mahatma Gandhi.

Pattabhi Sitaramayya was bom at Gundugolanu in West Godavari district on 24 November, 1880. His father, Venkata Subrahmanyam, was the Karanam of the village. Pattabhi obtained the degree of M.B.C.M. in medicine and commenced his medical practice at Machilipatnam, the headquarters of the Krishna district and the political centre of Andhra. Dr. Pattabhi began to take a keen interest in public affairs and soon became the champion for the formation of a separate Andhra province. During the years 1912–13, when there was a great controversy over the desirability of forming a separate province for Andhra, he wrote a number of articles in *The Hindu* and other journals explaining the need for immediate formation of linguistic provinces.

At the Lucknow session of the Congress in 1916, he demanded the formation of a separate Congress circle for Andhra. The demand was opposed by no less a person than Mahatma Gandhi, but as Tilak supported Pattabhi, the Congress high command conceded the demand. In 1918, the Andhra Congress Committee came into existence.

Pattabhi was in the thick of the national movement from 1920 to 1947. He spent nearly eight years in prison. He was member of the Working Committee of the Congress for a number of years and the President of Andhra Provincial Congress Committee during the years 1937–40.

Gandhiji was so impressed by Pattabhi's adherence to Congress ideology that he openly supported him in the election of the President of the Congress for Tripuri Session of 1939. In that historic election, Pattabhi was defeated by Subhas Chandra Bose. Gandhiji then declared that Pattabhi's defeat was his own defeat. Though Subhas Chandra Bose became the Congress President, he could not form the Working Committee as he failed to win the confidence of "India's Greatest man". Subhas Chandra Bose, therefore, left the Congress and formed his own party, the Forward Block.

Pattabhi had to wait till 1948 to become the President of the Congress for its Jaipur Session. After the country became independent, he continued his efforts for the formation of a separate Andhra province. He was a member of the J.V.P. Committee (the other members were Jawaharlal Nehru and Vallabhbhai Patel) which recommended the formation of Andhra State, without Madras city.

Pattabhi was fortunate to see the fulfilment of his life's ambition when Andhra Pradesh came into existence in November 1956. He acted as the Governor of Madhya Pradesh from July 1952 to June 1956. He died in Hyderabad on 17 December, 1959.

Pattabhi was a prolific writer and his publications include the two-volume monumental work, *History of the Indian National Congress, Gandhi* and *Gandhism* and *Feathers and Stones*.

VII. Potti Sriramulu (1890–1952)

Andhras are, by nature, emotional and hence are capable of making great sacrifice for the causes dearest to them. During our struggle for freedom, many Andhras, like Alluri Sitarama Raju, Kanneganti Hanumanthu—the illiterate peasant of Palnadu, laid down their lives and became martyrs. Apart from the freedom of the country, another cause that involved Andhras emotionally was the creation of a separate Andhra province. Though the agitation for the creation of a separate Andhra province started as early as 1913, Andhras relegated that issue to the background from 1920 onwards as they felt that priority should be given for attaining the country's freedom.

After our country became free in August 1947, Andhras felt that a separate province would be created for them in no time, since the election manifesto of the Congress Party in 1946 promised the creation of linguistic provinces. They felt cheated that, in spite of the election pledges of the Congress Party and the J.V.P. Report, Andhra province was nowhere in sight even in 1952, five years after our country had attained independence. It was in such an emotionally charged atmosphere that Potti Sriramulu, a relatively unknown but dedicated Congress worker, undertook the epic fast in the tradition of Gandhiji on 19 October, 1952 and sacrificed his life on 15 December, 1952 so that the Andhras may have a state of their own. It was the martyrdom of Potti Sriramulu that led to the creation of a separate Andhra State in October 1953.

Sriramulu was bom in Madras in 1890. His parents hailed from Nellore district but had settled in Madras. Sriramulu had his early education in Madras and proceeded to Bombay for higher studies in engineering. After completing his education, he worked as an engineer in the Great Indian Peninsular Railway, Bombay.

The turning point in his life came in his 25th year when he lost his wife. He felt lonely and dejected. He then decided to dedicate his life for the nation. He resigned his job and joined the Sabarmati Ashram. His silent and sincere work won the admiration of Gandhiji. He spent some time in constructive work at Rajkot Ashram also.

In 1946, he returned to Nellore district and devoted his time to Harijan welfare work and the propagation of khadi and village industries. After the death of Gandhiji, he intensified his activities to propagate the ideals of the Mahatma. He undertook three fasts during the years 1946–48 for the entry of Harijans in temples in Nellore district. After his return to Andhra in 1946, he was able to gauge the feelings of the Andhras on the question of the formation of a separate province. As mentioned earlier, it was his epic fast in 1952 that resulted in the creation of Andhra state. By his martyrdom, Sriramulu has become *amarajeevi* or immortal.

VIII. Durgabai Deshmukh (1910–1980)

The women of Andhra played a very important role in our struggle for independence. Among the southern states, Andhra had the unique distinction of contributing the largest contingent of women satyagrahis who, unmindful of the hardships, went to prison during the independence struggle. In the Non-Cooperation Movement of 1922, a young girl of 12 years offered satyagraha at Kakinada. This young girl, Durgabai, afterwards exhibited her dynamic abilities by founding a unique organisation, the Andhra Mahila Sabha, which is regarded as the foremost among the women's welfare and educational institutions in entire South India.

Durgabai, familiar to the rest of the country as Durgabai Deshmukh (she married C. D. Deshmukh in 1954), was born in Rajahmundry on 15 July, 1910. As noted earlier, she participated in the Non-Cooperation Movement when she was hardly 12 years of age. After the suspension of the Non-Cooperation Movement, she propagated the ideals of Gandhiji in the villages around Rajahmundry and Kakinada by establishing schools to give training to women in spinning and weaving.

Along with Andhra Kesari T. Prakasam, she participated in the Salt Satyagraha movement in Madras city in May 1930. She was imprisoned in 1930 and again in 1932. In spite of her active participation in the national struggle, Durgabai found time to qualify for the M.A. and B.L. degrees. From 1935 till her death, she devoted her entire energy to the welfare of women and children.

In 1936, she established Andhra Mahila Sabha mainly to coach young Telugu girls of Madras city to appear for the Matriculation examination of the Banaras Hindu University. From such a humble beginnings, within a decade, Andhra Mahila Sabha became a great institution of education and social welfare in the city of Madras. She had the unique capacity to collect funds for the institution from both the rich and the poor alike. Andhra Mahila Sabha trained women in various activities like nursing, journalism and teaching. Durgabai also founded and edited a monthly journal in Telugu called *Andhra Mahila*. The activities of Andhra Mahila Sabha attracted the attention of Pandit Nehru, who wanted to utilise the services of Durgabai at the national level.

At the national level, Durgabai's services were utilised fully. She was the Chairperson of a number of central organisations like Central Social Welfare Board, National Council for Women's Education and National Committee on Girls' and Women's Education. She was a Member of Parliament and Planning Commission. She was also associated with the Andhra Education Society, New Delhi.

After the formation of Andhra Pradesh, Andhra Mahila Sabha extended its activities to Hyderabad city. At Hyderabad, Andhra Mahila Sabha, besides

running a number of educational institutions including a college, opened many welfare institutions for women and children.

Durgabai was awarded the fourth Nehru Literary Award in 1971 for her outstanding contribution to the promotion of literacy in India. In 1975, she was awarded Padma Vibhushan. In her death, the country has lost one of the most dynamic women of the country.

IX. N. G. Ranga (1900–1995)

Before our country attained freedom in 1947, the Coastal districts of Andhra Pradesh were dotted with a large number of zamindaris. The condition of the peasantry in these zamindaris was one of serfdom. The Non-Cooperation Movement launched by Mahatma Gandhi created a new awakening even among the peasantry living in remote Andhra villages. The credit for channelling this new awakening into a powerful peasant movement goes to Gogineni Ranganayakulu popularly known as N. G. Ranga.

Ranga was bom on 7 November, 1900, at Nidubrolu in Guntur district. He hailed from a progressive community of farmers known as Kammas. Guntur district was the bastion of the Non-Cooperation Movement in Andhra. Three glorious episodes in the freedom struggle, namely the Chirala-Perala Struggle, the first Satyagraha of Palnadu and No-tax Campaign of Pedanadipadu, which took place in the Guntur district, naturally created an indelible impression on the mind of Ranga. He made a special study of the problems of the kisans and land-tenancy laws.

Ranga proceeded to England for higher studies and obtained his B. Litt. degree from Oxford University in 1926. For three years (1927–30), he worked as Professor of Economics and Political Science at Pachaiappa College, Madras. When Mahatma Gandhi started the Civil Disobedience Movement in 1930, Ranga resigned from his post as Professor and joined the national movement. He organised the No-tax Campaign in Krishna and Godavari districts.

Ranga made a special study of the problems of the peasantry under zamindari and felt that they should be properly organised to fight the atrocities of the zamindars. During the years 1933–1936, he conducted successfully the peasant movement in Venkatagiri, which was one of the big Andhra zamindaris in Nellore district. During this period, Ranga's sympathies were with the leftists. He however, continued to remain in the Congress Party. In 1934, he established the Indian Peasants Institute at Nidubrolu and conducted "political classes". Many young freedom fighters like Gouthu Latchanna, Pullela Syamasundara Rao and P. Thimma Reddy came under the influence of Ranga and became his able lieutenants.

The activities of Ranga in organising the peasantry attracted the attention of the national leaders. In 1936, he presided over the Faizpur Session of

the All India Kisan Congress and became its General Secretary in 1938. During the years 1938–40, Ranga launched a successful kisan agitation in the Mandasa Zamindari of Srikakulam district. In this struggle, Gouthu Latchanna and Pullela Syamasundara Rao played prominent roles. During the Quit India movement, Ranga was detained in different prisons at Vellore, Damoh, etc.

In 1948, Ranga became the President of the Andhra Provincial Congress Committee and worked with Prakasam. But he resigned from the Congress as he was fed up with the in-fighting in the organisation. In 1951, he founded the Krishika Party (K.L.P.). Earlier, he organised weavers by establishing the All India Weaver's Congress.

Ranga was an able parliamentarian. He was the only individual to complete 50 years in Parliament. His parliamentary career began when he became a Member of the Central Legislative Assembly in 1932.

In his long political career spreading over 50 years, Ranga worked with such eminent personalities like Nehru and Rajaji. Ranga differed with Nehru on many issues. He, therefore, joined hands with C. Rajagopalachari to establish the Swatantra Party, which was a conservative party. He did not stay in the Swatantra Party for long. He re-joined the Congress Party led by Mrs. Indira Gandhi in 1971.

Ranga travelled extensively and represented India in many foreign forums. He was the author of a number of books, which include *Credo of World Peasantry*, *Fight for Freedom* and *Revolutionary Peasant*. In all his activities, Ranga was ably assisted by his wife, Bharati Devi, who, in her own right, was a noted freedom fighter. She expired on 27 September, 1972.

X. Burgula Ramakrishna Rao (1899–1967)

The Telangana Region of Andhra Pradesh produced eminent leaders in all walks of life. In the field of politics, leaders like Ravi Narayana Reddy, M. Chenna Reddy and P. V. Narasimha Rao have played an important role. In contemporary Telugu literature, C. Narayana Reddy and Dasarathi Krishnamacharya are the leading figures. They also hail from Telangana. Burgula Ramakrishna Rao, the Chief Minister of the first popular ministry in the former State of Hyderabad, was a poet, politician and a polyglot. The list of achievements of the short-statured Ramakrishna Rao is a long one.

Ramakrishna Rao was bom on 13 March, 1899, in village Burgula in Mahaboob Nagar district. He adopted the name of the village, Burgula, as his *intiperu* (literally meaning "house name" or the family name). After his early education at Hyderabad, he proceeded to Pune and Bombay for higher education. After getting his B.A. and L.L.B. degrees, he enrolled himself as an advocate at Hyderabad. Ramakrishna Rao was well versed in six languages, English, Telugu, Sanskrit, Marathi, Urdu and Persian. He

was the author of two books in Telugu, *Krishna Satakam* and *Sarasvata Vyasa Muktavali.*

Like other Telangana leaders of the years 1920–1940, Ramakrishna Rao also came under the influence of Andhra Pitamaha (Grandfather of Andhra) Madapati Hanumantha Rao and was one of the founder-members of the Andhra Jana Sangham (the premier association of the Telangana people during the years 1921–31) and the library movement. He was a member of Hyderabad State Reforms Association. Though Ramakrishna Rao's sympathies were with the Indian National Congress, he was, for a time, associated with the Comrades Association, which was the earliest front organisation of the Communists of Hyderabad.

The Andhra Kendra Jana Sangham converted itself into Andhra Mahasabha in 1930 to play a more active role in the social, cultural and also the political affairs of Telangana. Ramakrishna Rao became the President of the Second Session of the Andhra Mahasabha held at Devarakonda in 1931.

Ramakrishna Rao took a leading part in the formation of the Hyderabad State Congress. But the Prime Minister of Hyderabad State, Sri Akbar Hydari, banned the Hyderabad State Congress Party, stating that it was a communal body affiliated to a political party outside the State. Ramakrishna Rao tried in vain to convince the State Government that the State Congress was not a communal party and that it had no outside affiliations. During the years 1942 to 1947, Ramakrishna Rao was arrested many times for defying the orders of the Government and addressing public meetings. His last detention was in 1947 when he actively participated in the Join India Movement.

After the "police action" in Hyderabad State in September 1948, Ramakrishna Rao played an important role in the formation of a popular Government in the State. During the years 1950–52, Ramakrishna Rao became Minister for Revenue and Education in the Cabinet of M. K. Vellodi.

The first General Elections of 1952 created a peculiar situation in the State of Hyderabad. In the Telangana region, Communists were returned to the State Assembly in large numbers, but in the Marathwada and Karnataka regions, Congress swept the polls. When the first popular ministry was formed in March 1952, Ramakrishna Rao became the natural choice for the Chief Ministership. He was one of the few Congress candidates returned to the Assembly from Telangana region and the only one who enjoyed the confidence of the two other regions of the State.

Ramakrishna Rao played a very crucial part in the emergence of Visal Andhra or Andhra Pradesh, as it was later known. Had he lent his weight in favour of a separate Telangana State, Andhra Pradesh would not have come into existence. Ramakrishna Rao knew that with the emergence of Andhra Pradesh, his active political life would come to an end. He preferred political annihilation to enable the Andhras realise their long cherished goal.

From June 1957 to June 1960, Ramakrishna Rao was the Governor of Kerala. He was transferred to Uttar Pradesh, where he continued in that position from July 1960 to June 1962. After laying down office as Governor of Uttar Pradesh, Ramakrishna Rao became a member of the Rajya Sabha during the years 1962–66.

Ramakrishna Rao, in his long political career, was associated with a number of organisations like Bharat Sevak Samaj, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Andhra Pradesh Kendra at Hyderabad, Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha, etc. In the death of Ramakrishna Rao on 15 September, 1967, at Hyderabad, Andhra Pradesh lost a leader noted for his intellectual brilliance and political maturity.

XI. Cattamanchi Ramalinga Reddy (1880–1951)

Cattamanchi Ramalinga Reddy, or C. R. Reddy, was one of the outstanding personalities in the field of education in South India. His intellectual brilliance, ready wit and sharp repartees made him a legend even during his lifetime.

Ramalinga Reddy was bom in Cattamanchi, a lovely village on the outskirts of Chittoor town. He was named after his grandfather, a great Sanskrit scholar. After completing high school education at Chittoor, C. R. Reddy proceeded to Madras and joined the Christian College. Even before receiving his B. A. degree, Reddy showed his intellectual brilliance by publishing a poetical work in Telugu called *Musalamma Maranamu*. Immediately, he became a man of letters. In 1901, he passed the B.A. examination in first class, securing distinction in Economics and Philosophy. This enabled him to secure a scholarship from the Indian Government for higher studies in England. At Cambridge, he became the Vice-President of the College Union. He was the first Indian to be elected to that office.

On his return from England, Reddy was offered the position of Vice-Principal of the Baroda College. The position was then just vacated by Sri Aurobindo. After serving at Baroda for two years, Reddy left for Mysore to take up the top position of Inspector-General of Education at the invitation of the Maharaja. He held that position till 1920.

Reddy made a sojourn into politics as a member of the Justice Party, which had just then come into power in the Madras Presidency. Being an individualist, he could not adjust himself to the party discipline and resigned from his membership. In 1926, he accepted the position of Vice-Chancellor of the newly established Andhra University, with headquarters at Vijayawada. He, however, felt that Vijayawada, being a centre of commerce and trade, was not a fit place for the University's headquarters. He persuaded the Government to shift the headquarters to Waltair, known as Brighton of India. He correctly prophesied that Waltair was the city of the future. He was the

Vice-Chancellor from 1926 to 1931 and again from 1936 to 1949. He and S. Radhakrishnan, who was the Vice-Chancellor of the Andhra University from 1931 to 1936, were responsible for developing Waltair into a glorious centre of education. In 1949, Reddy returned to Mysore as the Pro-chancellor of its University. He died in 1951.

Apart from his services to education, Reddy's contribution to Telugu literature is immense. Besides *Musalamma Maranamu*, Reddy wrote *Kavitatva Vicharamu*, an enquiry into the principles of poetry and *Nava Yamini*. His brilliant "prefaces" in Telugu are thought-provoking. Though his writings are few in number, qualitatively they are invaluable.

XII. Panapakam Anandacharyulu (1843–1907)

Andhra played an important role in the Indian National Congress since its inception in 1885. In the post-independence period, B. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, Neelam Sanjiva Reddy, D. Sanjivaiah and K. Brahmananda Reddi acted as presidents of the Congress. In the early years of the Congress, the first Andhra to become its president was Panapakam Anandacharyulu. He presided over the Seventh Annual Session of the Congress held at Nagpur in 1891. He was one of the 72 founding members of the organisation.

Anandacharyulu was born at Cattamanchi in Chittoor district in August 1843. Chittoor district has the unique distinction of producing many eminent Andhraites, like Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan, Jiddu Krishnamurti, of international repute and also persons of national stature like C. R. Reddy.

Anandacharyulu's father, Srinivasachari, held a petty position of Sheristadar in the district court. In spite of his limited income, Srinivasachari educated his sons in English-medium schools. Anandacharyulu, after passing the matriculation examination, proceeded to Madras, where he worked for some time as a teacher in the Pachaiappa School. Madras University, at that time, allowed the matriculates to appear privately for the B.L. degree examination. Anandacharyulu availed of this opportunity and received his B.L. degree.

Anandacharyulu enrolled himself as an Advocate in the Madras High Court in 1870 and, within three days of his enrolment, appeared in a big case under Hindu Law. His knowledge of the Hindu Law and forensic skills astounded Justice Hallway. The judgment went in favour of Anandacharyulu's client. With the very first case a success, Anandacharyulu established himself as a leading lawyer in the Madras High Court.

In spite of his busy work in the High Court, Anandacharyulu found time to take an active part in the civic and cultural affairs of the Madras city. For 15 years from 1884, he represented the Triplicane ward as Council Member of the Madras Corporation. He was elected as the Secretary of the Madras Mahajana Sabha when it was established on 16 May, 1884. In that capacity,

he gave evidence before a commission for public services appointed by the Government of India. He pleaded that ICS examinations should be held in England and India.

As a founding member of the Congress, Anandacharyulu took active part in its annual deliberations. His presidential address of the Nagpur session is remarkable in that he vehemently criticised those who propagated that India was not a single nation.

In 1895, he became member of the Imperial Legislative Council and continued in that position for eight years. In 1900, as a member of the Congress delegation, he pleaded before Viceroy Curzon to set up the special commission to enquire into famines. When Anandacharyulu completed his term in Imperial Legislative in 1903, *The Hindu* commended his role and stated that the country will remember him long for his services to the nation in the Legislative Council.

Anandacharyulu passed away at Madras on 28 November, 1907. The Surat session of the Congress paid the following tribute to him:

> His enthusiasm for work, his deep concern for his duties, his devotion to his ideal and his straightforwardness made him famous throughout the land, and the fame as the founder of the Congress will ever rest on him.

XIII. Jiddu Krishnamurti (1895–1986)

Andhra has produced great philosophers and men of religion from the early times to the present century. Nagarjuna and Vallabhacharya belonged to the ancient and medieval periods. In the modern period, two outstanding philosophers of international repute were Sarvepalli Radhakrishnan and Jiddu Krishnamurti. Both hailed from Chittoor district.

Jiddu Krishnamurti was born in Madanapalle on 11 May, 1985, in a lower middle class Telugu Brahmin family. His parents, Narayanayya and Sanjivamma, named the boy "Krishna" as he happened to be their eighth child. Sanjivamma somehow sensed that her child was destined to be an extraordinary personality and therefore insisted on having her delivery in the puja room of her house. Sanjivamma died when Krishnamurti was hardly ten years of age. His father moved to Madras in 1909, where he found employment in the Theosophical Society.

Nothing unusual is recorded of Krishnamurti as a boy. He failed in formal education, but Narayanayya noticed that his son had deep love for nature and used to watch the hill and graceful trees in the vicinity of the attractive small town of Madanapalle.

C. W. Leadbeater, a close associate of Annie Besant, happened to see Krishnamurti while the latter was watching the waves of the sea on the Adyar beach. Leadbeater, being a clairvoyant, at once pronounced that the boy was going to be the messiah of the future. This happened in 1909.

When Leadbeater and Annie Besant made preparations to shape Krishnamurti to the role of a world teacher, Narayanayya was upset. He filed a suit against Annie Besant for the recovery of the custody of Krishnamurti. Besant lost the case in India. She preferred an appeal to the Privy Council in London. She finally won the case on a technical point. Krishnamurti remained in the custody of Besant.

In order to make Krishnamurti a world teacher after Christ, Annie Besant and Leadbeater created within the Theosophical Society the "Order of the Star in the East" in 1911. The order, with Krishnamurti as the head, attracted a large following all over the world. A Dutchman gave his estate of 200 hectares in Holland with Castle Eerde to Krishnamurti. This became the headquarters of the order.

Though Krishnamurti had no formal education, he wrote a book called *At the Feet of the Master* at the age of 16. The book ran into 40 editions and was translated into 27 languages. It is estimated that Krishnamurti had altogether written an incredible number of 712 books.

In 1929, he took a decisive step. He dissolved the order and returned the huge wealth given to him and announced that he was not a messiah. Next year, he resigned from the Theosophical Society. He settled at Ojai, California. He travelled all over the world, delivering public talks and holding private discussions. His teachings were spread by the Krishnamurti Foundation, established by his admirers at Madras. But he denounced the concept of Guru and disciple. Krishnamurti used to visit India every year and gave talks at Vasant Vihar, the headquarters of the Krishnamurti Foundation. The Foundation runs a number of schools to develop character and creative activity among the students. The most famous amongst them is the Rishi Valley School, situated in a 370-acre campus in an enchanting valley near Madanapalle.

Krishnamurti's last visit to India was on 23 December, 1985 and he gave his final talk on 4 January, 1986. He returned to his home Ojai, California on 10 January and died in his sleep on 17 February, 1986. With his death, India lost an "intellect giant and a stimulating philosopher".

XIV. Dr. Yellapragada Subba Row (1895–1948)

Andhra Pradesh has the dubious distinction of ignoring its sons and daughters who have brought glory to the country by their achievements in varied fields like engineering, medicine, sports, philosophy, literature, etc. No wonder, therefore, that very few people remember the name of Dr. Yellapragada Subba Row, the eminent Andhra biochemist, who was hailed as the "Wizard of Wonderful Drugs" in the US and other Western countries.

Soon after his demise, on 8 August, 1948, at the early age of 53, an American journal paid its tribute to Dr. Row thus:

> You have probably never heard of Dr. Yellapragada Subba Row. Yet because he lived you may be alive and well today. Because he lived you may live longer.

The New York Herald Tribune, in its obituary of columns, described Dr Subba row as "one of the most eminent medical minds of this century".

Dr. Yellapragada Subba Row was born on 12 January, 1895, at Modekurru in the West Godavari district. From his boyhood, Subba Row had the desire to do something that would bring him name and fame. When he was barely 13, he left home for Varanasi and became a *sanyasi*. He was brought back home by his mother, who forced him to resume studies. He failed twice to pass the Matriculation examination. So his mother sent him to Madras to make a third attempt. After clearing the examination, he tried to join the Ramakrishna Mission to lead a monastic life. The Mission refused to take him without the consent of his mother. He acceded to the wish of his mother and joined the Madras Medical College. After finishing the medical course, he joined the faculty of the Madras Ayurvedic College as its Vice-Principal. He conducted research into many ayurvedic drugs and compiled an encyclopaedia on herbal and other ayurvedic drugs.

He left for the US in 1923 and received a diploma in Tropical Medicine. Then he took admission in a non-medical biochemistry course at the Harvard Medical School, Boston. He worked with Dr. Cyrus Fiske and found out a method for the estimation of phosphorus in body fluids and tissues. This is referred in the medical textbooks as "Fiske-Subba Row" method.

In May 1940, Subba Row joined the pharmaceutical firm, Ledesle Laboratories, at Pearle River, New York State, to conduct research on vitamins and antibiotics. He pioneered anti-filaria and anti-cancer drugs and played a great part in the production of tetracycline, which was used to combat plague. Earlier, he discovered drugs to cure tropical sprue and filaria. In the field of antibiotics, Subba Row's name is associated with the production of Aureomycin. His role in the development of miracle drugs helped in fighting dreaded diseases like blood cancer or leukaemia.

Subba Row was a poor businessman and took no patents for his discoveries. But the medical world recognised his achievements. His achievements are chronicled in his biography titled *In Quest of Panacea: Successes and Failures of Subba Row* by Sikharam Prasanna Kumara Gupta and Dr. Edgar L. Milford. According to these authors, Subba Row was a multi-faceted personality. "He was a man of all sciences, a chemist among chemists, a parasitologist among parasitologists and clinician among clinicians'.

As B. S. Padmanabhan said, "Subba Row was indeed a great scientist who shunned fame, but his medicines continue to benefit millions of men, women and children the world over."

APPENDIX III

Chief Ministers of Andhra Pradesh

	Name	*Date of Assumption of Office*
1.	N. Sanjiva Reddy	01-11-1956
2.	D. Sanjivaiah	11-01-1960
3.	N. Sanjiva Reddy	12-03-1962
4.	K. Brahmananda Reddy	29-02-1964
5.	P. V. Narasimha Rao	25-09-1971
President's Rule		18-01-1973 to 09-12-1973
6.	J. Vengal Rao	10-12-1973
7.	M. Chenna Reddy	06-03-1978
8.	T. Anjaiah	11-10-1980
9.	B. Venkatram Reddi	24-02-1982
10.	K. Vijayabhaskar Reddy	20-09-1982
11.	N. T. Rama Rao	09-01-1983
12.	N. Bhaskara Rao	16-08-1984
13.	N. T. Rama Rao	16-09-1984
N. T. Rama Rao headed the Government as Caretaker		12-11-1984 to 08-03-1985
14.	N. T. Rama Rao	08-03-1985
15.	M. Chenna Reddy	03-12-1989
16.	N. Janardhana Reddy	22-12-1990
17.	K. Vijaya Bhaskara Reddy	09-10-1992
18.	N. T. Rama Rao	12-12-1994
19.	N. Chandrababu Naidu	01-09-1995
20.	Y. S. Rajasekhara Reddy	14-05-2004
21.	K. Rosaiah	03-09-2009
22.	N. Kiran Kumar Reddy	25-09-2010
President's Rule		01-03-2014 to 08-06-2014

Following the Bifurcation of Telangana

23.	N. Chandrababu Naidu	08-06-2014

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Andhra Pradesh State, which came into existence on November 1, 1956, caught world wide attention as the techno-savvy and the most "happening state" by 2000. Hence, two U.S. presidents, Bill Clinton and George Bush, visited Hyderabad city, the capital of the state. In the year 2014, it was bifurcated for political reasons to form a separate Telengana State.

The residuary part of the state retained its original name, Andhra Pradesh. However, Hyderabad city became a part of Telangana state. The state, which is now emerging as the most dynamic one, provides India the "Eastern Gateway" to East and South-East Asia. Its new capital under construction named Amaravati—the "city immortal", has drawn the attention of architects from all over the globe.

The present book, *History of Modern Andhra Pradesh*, provides ongoing information about the state to the students of History, as well as to the general public. Hectic developments are taking place under the leadership of its Chief Minister, Chandrababu Naidu, "the maker of modern Hyderabad".

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